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The Retreat of the Highlanders through Westmoreland in 1745.

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(Continued from page 179.)

I SHALL again put the Chevalier de Johnstone into the witness box, and he shall give an account of Scene II., which is, in the language of the theatre, a mere carpenter's flat, between two more important scenes.

We immediately resumed our march, but in less than an hour* one of our ammunition waggons having broken from the badness of the roads, we were obliged to halt. The singular adventure of the light horse had filled me with some uneasiness, as I was unable to account for their audacity, unless the army of Marshal Wade were much nearer us than we imagined, and I communicated my fears to Mr. Grant, an officer of great talents, who commanded our artillery, and acted as our engineer at the same time; and, in order that we might not lose time in repairing the broken waggon, I suggested to him that we should go to a farm which we saw on our right, about a quarter of a league from us, and try to procure one. He consented; and we took seven or eight men with us, of whom my sergeant, Dickson, was one. Having found a waggon in the court yard of the farmer, we immediately carried it off † (see Plan xxix.); and our march was retarded no longer than the time necessary for transferring the ammunition from one waggon to another. In returning from the farm, Dickson called our attention to something which appeared blackish to us, on a hill about a league to our left; and he alone, contrary to the opinion of every one else, maintained that he saw it moving, and that it was the English army advancing towards us. As we took what he saw for bushes, and as nobody, excepting himself, could distinguish anything, I treated him as a visionary; but he still persisted, till I ordered him to be silent, telling him that fear alone could have filled his imagination with the idea of an army. However, his last word was that we should see in an hour whether or not he was in the right. When we had advanced about two miles, ‡ we were soon convinced that Dickson's eyes were much better than ours. The Duke of Cumberland, having followed us by forced marches, with two thousand cavalry, and as

* That will make the time a little before one o'clock.

† I do not know if tradition preserves the name of the farm: Thrimby Hall suits the description of the place, or it may have been nearer Hackthorpe. It is marked on the Chevalier's plan.

‡ Two miles would take about an hour to march; this brings the time of day to 2 p.m. We shall see the artillery passed Clifton Town End about 2.30, the charge mentioned in the text must have taken place about half-a-mile or rather more from the Town End.

many foot-soldiers* mounted behind them, fell suddenly on the Macdonalds, who were in the rear of the column, with all the fury and impetuosity imaginable. Fortunately the road running between thorn hedges and ditches, the cavalry could not act in such a manner as to surround us, nor present a larger front than the breadth of the road. The Highlanders received their charge with the most undaunted firmness. They repelled the assailants with their swords, and did not quit their ground till the artillery and waggons were a hundred paces from them and continuing their route. Then the Highlanders wheeled to the right and ran with full speed till they joined the waggons, when they stopt again for the cavalry, and stood their charge as firm as a wall. The cavalry were repulsed in the same manner as before by their swords. We marched in this manner about a mile, the cavalry continually renewing the charge, and the Highlanders always repulsing them, repeating the same manoeuvre and behaving like lions.

The plan given by the Chevalier de Johnstone (Plates xxvi. and xxix.) shows that the column seen by Sergeant Dickson, was marching, not on the main road between Shap and Clifton, through Hackthorpe, but on a loop road or lane to the west of the main road, running through Lowther and the Lowther enclosures: from Dugald Graham we learn that it was commanded by General Bland, and consisted of Bland's dragoon's, Kingston's light horse, and the Yorkshire Hunters;† and that the Duke of Cumberland with his force was three miles behind, and no doubt on the main road, while Bland was pushing forward along the side lane through the Lowther enclosures, to get between the Highland artillery and Penrith (Plate xxix.) This he probably would have done had any delay taken place over the broken wagon, but the Chevalier's presence of mind prevented this. The cavalry, however, got touch of the rear of the Highland artillery escort immediately after the junction of the two roads; the Chevalier talks of a running fight for a mile, which is about the distance between the junction of the roads and Clifton moor. This running fight must have taken place about 2 p.m.; messengers had been sent to Penrith by Lord George Murray, and a body of Highland infantry under Cameron of Lochiel had moved from Penrith and taken post at Lowther Bridge behind the river Lowther to assist the Highland train of artillery, and the Scotch cavalry had come out to Clifton. Here ends Scene II., and I will dismiss the Chevalier de Johnstone from the witness box, for though he continues his story, he was no longer an eye witness, as the train of artillery and the four companies of Perth's regiment did not stop for the fighting at Clifton, but proceeded at once to Carlisle, not stopping at Penrith, except for a short rest.

I shall now call into the witness box Thomas Savage of the Town

* The Duke of Cumberland had no infantry with him on the 18th Dec.; they were a day's march behind. The force that Dickson saw was a column under General Bland, consisting of Bland's dragoon's, Kingston's light horse and some Yorkshire Hunters, which was endeavouring to get in front of the Highland artillery by a lane through the Lowther enclosures. The Duke with the main body was three miles behind.

† Or such of these last two regiments as were not with Gen. Oglethorpe; but even those that were with Oglethorpe's column, and were at the affair at Thrimby, might after that have joined Bland's column.

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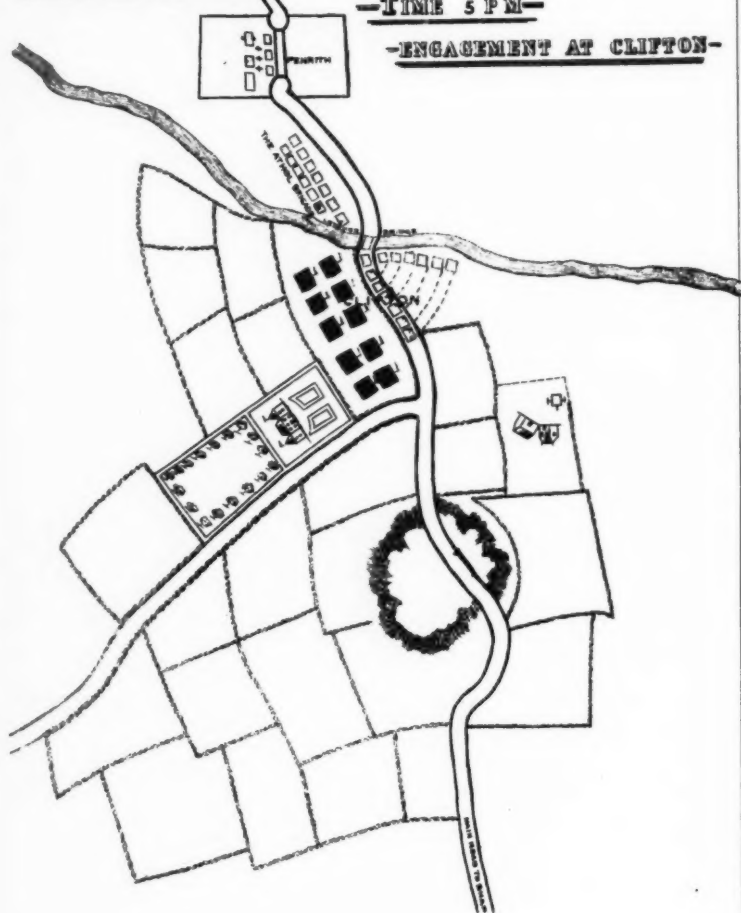
—SKIRMISH—

-AT-

-CLIFTON-MOOR DEC 1745-

-TIME 5 P M-

-ENGAGEMENT AT CLIFTON-



End, Clifton, whose letter to his friend Richard Partridge is given in the appendix to this paper.* Thomas Savage says :

Now I shall give thee to understand the beginning and the end of the engagement. First, the rebel hussars being gone past to Penrith, came riding back to my door in haste, between one and two in the afternoon. Then in an hour after† came back again driving up the rear of their army to my door, and some others then took their place, and they wheeled off and set themselves in ambush against my barn side, being so inclosed with cross houses that our king's men could not see them until close to them, we not knowing their design, but I firmly believed it to be evil, and so went into my house ; yet could not long be easy there, and returned forth and looking about me, I espied the commanders of the king's men appearing upon the hill,‡ at about 400 yards south of my house, whereupon my very heart was in pain for believing that a great number might be cut off before they were aware ; so our care was to give the king's men notice, for which my son§ ventured his life, and gave them notice about 300 yards before they came to the place ; when in the meantime a second ambush was laid, about 100 yards nearer to our king's men,|| and the king's hussars with some of the Yorkshire Hunters, came down, and so soon as they came opposite to the first ambush, the rebels fired upon them, but did no execution ; and then issued out the ambush at my doors and a furious firing they had, the king's men acting the quickest and nimblest that ever my eyes beheld, not one of them receiving any harm. Some horse followed the former, so that in a few minutes the rebels ran away like mad men, and just by my door one of the rebels was brought down, and taken, and a Captain Hamilton was also taken at the same time. They were both had up to the Duke.

This happened about 3 o'clock, and is shown on the sketch (Plate xxvii) given by D. Graham, who tells us that the hussars engaged on the English side were Kingston's light horse, and that the horse were Bland's dragoons, and that Bland ordered his cavalry to retire. The Newcastle map also has this scene laid down upon it, the Scotch hussars filling the town, and Kingston's light horse, who are marked "The Forlorn Hope," riding on them. I have reproduced this from the Newcastle map, as a separate map (Plate xxxi.) Bland, after being warned by Jonathan Savage, would not consider it prudent to attack the enemy until the Duke of Cumberland came up in force ; from Graham we learn the Duke was three miles (say an hour) behind Bland. Thomas Savage says the "rebels ran away like mad men ;" this may seem strong language, but Lord George says :

* See appendices ii. and iii.

† This brings the time to about 2.30 p.m., the artillery and its escort, now reinforced by the Scotch hussars, passing Clifton Town End. We have previously at 2 p.m., got them to within a mile of the Town End, viz., the junction of the two roads, where the running fight began.

‡ Bland's column debouching from the road upon the south or high end of Clifton Moor.

§ Jonathan Savage. The Newcastle map shows the route by which he went to warn the king's hussars, namely, through the fields at the back of his father's house ; by a mistake it calls him Thomas.

|| This is shown on the sketch (Plate xxvii.) given by D. Graham, who marks a Quaker's house on the east side of the road, the opposite side to the Town End farm house, which was Savage's house, and is generally known in connection with the 18th Dec., 1745, as the Quaker's house. The house on the east of the road was also a Quaker's house, belonging to a son-in-law of Thomas Savage, named Josiah Walker.

Our hussars, upon seeing the enemy, went off to Penrith. One of their officers, Mr. Hamilton, with two or three of his men, had dismounted (being ashamed of the going off of the others), and . . . taken prisoners.*

Hamilton took refuge in a cottage a little detached from the town; one of the Duke's hussars (said by D. Graham to be an Austrian) fired through the window, and drove Hamilton out: a single combat ensued, but the hussar captured Hamilton, who was much cut about the head; the other prisoner was one Ogden, of the Manchester regiment. No other casualties are recorded as having occurred during this spirited little rally, which forms Scene III.

Scene IV. is a carpenter's flat, which Thomas Savage shall tell.

Then all was still about an hour,† in which time I abode in the house, the king's troops still standing upon the common; in which time my son went over a little green‡ to see if he could get the cattle brought into the houses, but seeing that in vain, came homewards again, when four rebels on horseback seized him, calling him a spy and had him down under their horses' feet, swearing desperately many times they would shoot him; three of them commanded the fourth to shoot him, which he attempted with his gun, and pistol, but neither would fire, so he escaped, and came in a little after. . . . and in the time of quietness as above, they had sent off a party of their horse§ to plunder and burn Lowther Hall and town, and were also plundering our town, leaving nothing they could lay their hands on, breaking locks, and making ruinous work, even to all our victuals and little children's clothes of all sorts.

This ends Scene IV. Lord George Murray had, in sending horse to Lowther Hall (he accompanied them himself) a much more important object than that of plunder. He tells us that his object was to fall upon the Duke's army in the narrow lane through the Lowther enclosures, where he calculated that

"If but twenty of their horse could be killed, it would make such an embarrass in the lane, that it would put them to confusion, and choke up the only road they had to retreat except the Appleby road, and that might also be secured, which would give us an advantage that perhaps we should not meet the like again."

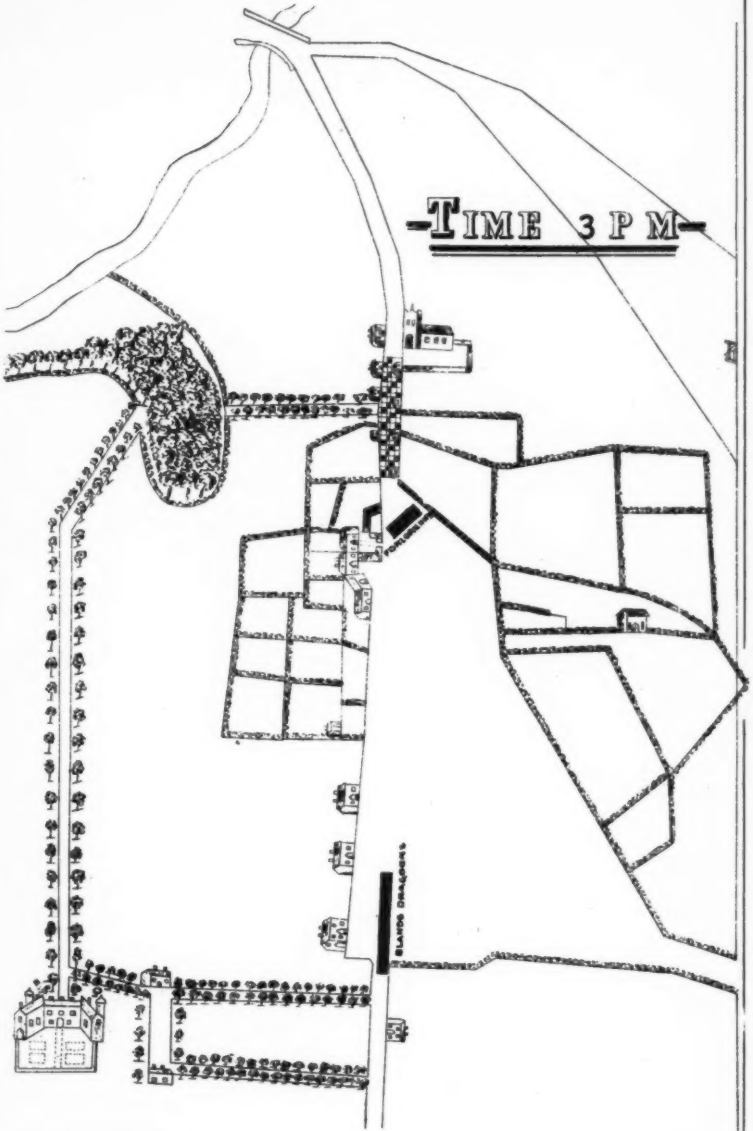
This, however, Lord George was unable to effect. The Duke of Cumberland's forces were through the lane, and drawn up on the Clifton Moor before Lord George could intercept them; and Lord George's horse did nothing beyond capturing a militia officer in green, probably a Yorkshire hunter, and the Duke of Cumberland's footman. Lord George himself returned from Lowther Hall to Clifton, and saw to the disposition of the forces he had with him. He had sent the artillery off to Penrith, or rather, to Carlisle. His first object was, of course, to secure its safety. His hussars had bolted, but he had with him about 1,000 men, Highlanders and

* The Sunday hunting had probably demoralised them.

† This would bring the time to 4 p.m., when the popping shots Lord George mentions began.

‡ The little green is to be seen on the Newcastle map; the place marked 14, where Col. Honeywood was afterwards wounded; it is by the "Rebels' Tree."

§ A party of horse would be a detachment from the Scotch lifeguards, of which there were two troops, commanded by Lords Elcho and Balmorino; the hussars, who had gone off to Penrith, were commanded by Lord Pittligo.



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Lowlanders, most of whom had come out to him from Penrith. (Plates xxx. and xxxii.) The Athol brigade had also advanced from Penrith to a position* on the north side of Lowther Bridge, and there waited for orders. Lord George's account of how he disposed his forces is printed in several books, but Plate xxxii. shows it at a glance. The Glengarry men were in the enclosures, on the right of the road—Lord George's right, that is, the west side, the same side as Savage's house at Town End. Appin's and Cluny's men were in the enclosures on the left, or east side of the road, with Roy Stewart's men (the Edinburgh regiment) on the side of the lane, or highway, close to the village (Plates xxiv. and xxxii.) Lord George says—

"The ditches at the foot advanced more towards the muir on the right than on the left; and that part was also covered by Lord Lonsdale's other enclosures, so that they could not easily be attacked, but had the advantage that they could with their fire, flank the enemy when they made an attack on our left. The lane, which was the high road between these small enclosures was not above twenty feet broad. It was now an hour after sunset, pretty cloudy, but the moon, which was in its second quarter, from time to time broke out and gave good light; but this did not continue above two minutes at a time. We had the advantage of seeing their disposition, but they could not see ours."

Ray says the same, and that the buff belts of the dragoons made them conspicuous.

The Duke of Cumberland's forces were by now drawn up in two lines (see Plates xxiv. and xxxii.) on the high end of the common, Bland's, Kerr's, and Cobham's forming the first line, and Montagu's and Kingston's the second; a detachment faced the Appleby road and the Duke's baggage was in the rear of the second line. The left regiment of each line was wheeled up inward, to the right, or east.

I have now got the flats set and scenery fixed, and will go on with Scene V.—the most important of all (see Plate xxxii.) Lord George gives us the time of its commencement—an hour after sunset, which on Dec. 18th would be about 5 p.m. Mr. Lamb in a letter printed in Mounsey's *Carlisle in 1745*, says the firing began about 4 p.m.—the "popping shots" no doubt, which Lord George mentions, as I shall presently show.† I will again put Thomas Savage into the witness box. He says—

"I was again growing uneasy to go out, which I ventured to do; and looking about me, I saw the king's men standing as before upon the common; turning me about I saw the rebels filling the town street, north of my house, and also lining the hedges and walls, even down to my house on both sides. Then I was in great pain for the Duke and his men, it beginning to grow darkish; but I ventured my life, and stood a little way off, and waved my hat in my hand, which some of them discovering, one of them came riding down towards me, and I called to him, bidding him to cast his eyes about him, and see how the town was filled, and hedges lined, after which he returned."

* Lord George is the authority for this; according to the Chevalier de Johnstone, Cameron of Lochiel had previously occupied this position, but he crossed the bridge to rescue Lord George and the Glengarry Macdonalds from the English cavalry.

† It would be about 4 p.m., when Thomas Savage came out and looked round; 5 p.m. when the dragoons and Highlanders came to close quarters.

I need not relate the personal adventures of the worthy Quaker, for they will be found in his letter in the appendix; his evidence fails us now, for he, wise man that he was, locked himself into his house during the fight that presently ensued, and his daughter-in-law, the mistress of his house, hid in the kitchen cupboard. About this time Lord George received an important order from the Prince, and he shall tell what the order was and how he replied thereto. He says—

Colonel Roy Stewart returned to me from Penrith. He told me his royal highness had resolved to march for Carlisle immediately, and had sent off the cannon before, and desired me to retreat to Penrith. I showed Col. S. my situation with that of the enemy. They were by this time shooting popping shots among us. I told him if I retreated, being within musket shot of the enemy, they would follow up the lane, and I must lose a number of men, besides discouraging the rest; that from Clifton it was a narrow road and very high walls, so that I could not line them to secure my retreat; and that probably my men would fall into confusion in the dark; and that the enemy by regular platoons in our rear, being encouraged by our retreat, must destroy a great many; and by taking any wounded man prisoner, they would know our numbers; whereas I told him I was confident I could dislodge them from where they were by a brisk attack, as they had by all that I could judge not dismounted above 500. Their great body was on horseback, and at some distance; and Cluny and he owned that what I proposed was the only prudent and sure way, so we agreed not to mention the message from the prince.

Lord George then visited the Glengarry men (see Plate xxxii.) and cautioned them to reserve their fire until the enemy were close, and not to fire across the road; further, when the enemy retired, they were to give them a flank fire, but not to follow them up the moor. He next returned to the left of his line east of the road.

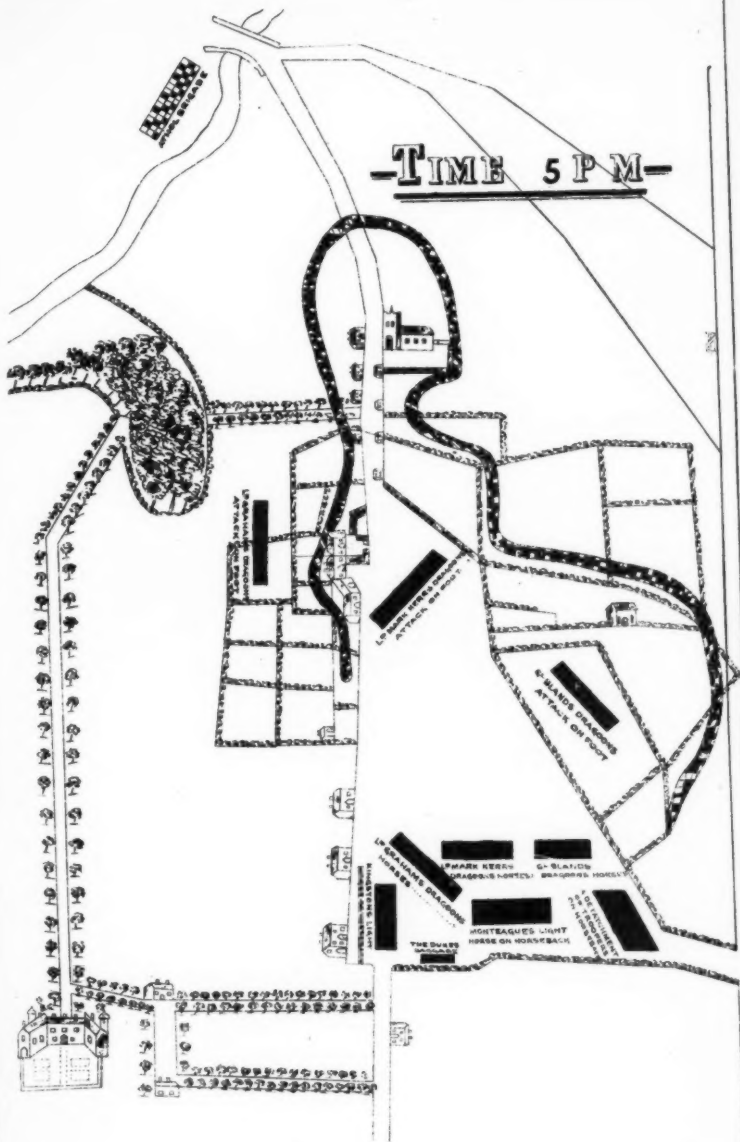
We must now go to the Duke of Cumberland; he had dismounted some of his men, namely, portions of Bland's, Kerr's, and Cobham's dragoons (see Plate xxxii.), who advanced against the Highlanders, leaving their horses in charge of their comrades. Bland's dismounted dragoons went into the enclosures east of the road, Kerr's went straight up the road, while Cobham's went through the enclosures and got in rear of the Glengarry men. Then the fighting began. Thomas Savage can tell no more than that "the firing on all hands was dreadful and continued half-an-hour." Lord George's account is as follows—

We advanced and had a good deal of fire on both sides. After the Highlanders on that side* had given most of their fire they lay close at an open hedge, which was the second in these fields. We then received the whole fire of the dragoons that were at the bottom, upon which Cluny said "What the devil is this?" Indeed the bullets were going thick enough. I told him we had nothing for it but going down upon them sword in hand, before they had time to charge again. I immediately drew my sword and cried "Claymore." Cluny did the same, and we ran down to the bottom ditch, clearing the diagonal hedges as we went. There were a good many of the enemy killed at the bottom ditch,† and the rest took to their heels, but received the fire of the Glengarry regiment. Most of Ardsheel's‡ men,

* The west side, where were the Macdonalds of Glengarry.

† The bottom ditch means the last ditch between the enclosures and the moor; the Newcastle map shows Bland's dragoons between the diagonal hedges, and just in front of this ditch.

‡ That is the Appin men; Stewart of Ardsheel commanded Stewart of Appin's men.



being next the lane, did not meet with so much opposition.* I had given orders that our men should not pass the bottom ditch to go up the muir, for they would have been exposed to the fire of the Glengarry regiment that could not distinguish them from the enemy. We had now done what we proposed, and, being sure of no more trouble from the enemy, I ordered the retreat; first Roy Stewart, then Appin, Cluny and the Glengarry men; and it was half an hour after the skirmish before we went off.† The Atholl brigade had come the length of a bridge, within half a mile of Clifton, hearing of my being in sight of the enemy, and there waited for orders. Had the rest of the army come out, and following the plan that was proposed, they would have been on the flank of the dragoons that were on horseback by the time we attacked the others.

I will now give the Duke of Cumberland's account of this skirmish, quoting it from Ewald's *Life of Prince Charles*.

After a ten hours' march our cavalry came up with the rebels just beyond Lowther Hall: nay, we heard that their rear was in possession of it, but they left it on our approach, and threw themselves into the village of Clifton, which we immediately attacked with the dismounted dragoons, and though it is the most defensible village I ever saw, yet our men drove them out of it in an hour's time, with a very small loss. Cobham's and Mark Kerr's behaved both extremely well. As it was quite dark before the skirmish was over, we were obliged to remain content with the ground we had gained. What the rebels may have lost I can't tell; we have four officers wounded, none mortally, and about forty men killed and wounded. The regiment which suffered the greatest loss was the King's Own Regiment of Dragoons. By some confusion in the two dismounted squadrons commanded by Colonel Honeywood, they firing at 150 yards distance, and then giving way, the rebels came out with broadswords and wounded several of the officers, and some of the men. When the officers of the King's regiment were wounded, the rebels cried "No quarter, murder them," and they received several wounds after they were knocked down.‡

These two accounts fit into one another very well; it is clear Bland's dragoons broke—the regimental records say they were ordered to retire a few paces, which the Highlanders took for a retreat and rushed on them. Ray gives the following account—

"The action was very sharp and desperate while it lasted, but at last ended in our favour, notwithstanding the rebels, from their situation, had greatly the advantage of us, we being obliged to go over the hedges up to the boot tops in water; not only so, but it being late in the evening, they could see our buff belts and laced hats, when we could not so well discern their blue bonnets and dark colour'd plaids, so that we directed our fire at their fire, which was very hot on both sides. Notwithstanding these disadvantages we pushed them with such intrepidity that in about an hour they quitted the field and village and fled to Penrith."

For what happened next, I will go again to Thomas Savage. He says:—

"And after the heat of firing was over, all seemed still a little space, after

* The main fighting was between the Macphersons under Lord George and Cluny, and Bland's dragoons under Colonel Honeywood; the dragoons evidently (see the Newcastle map) penetrated from the moor over two diagonal hedges to the place marked 14, as where Colonel Honeywood was wounded; from this place they were driven back to the moor. Except that Kerr's lost one man killed, and Cobham's three, I have found no details as to these two regiments.

† The skirmish began at 5 p.m.; and Savage says the firing lasted half an hour; half an hour more brings the time of the Highland retreat to 6 p.m.

‡ At Thrimby Hill it was impossible, says the Chevalier de Johnstone, to save a prisoner from the fury of the Highlanders, who cut him to pieces in an instant.

which some came and broke in at my court door, calling sharply to open ; but we believed it to be the rebels, and would not open, when they began to be sharp, and orders were given to fire—they supposing the house to be full of rebels ; but I called and said I would open as fast as I could, and the first words said to me were “ Could the Duke lodge here to-night ? ” to which with pleasure I answered “ Yes ; ” and pleasant agreeable company he was—a man of parts, very friendly and no pride in him.”

Young Mrs. Savage also emerged from the kitchen cupboard, and was saluted by the Duke with : “ Madame, we come to protect you, not to do you any harm.” One local legend I have picked up concerning Colonel Honeywood, who commanded the dismounted squadrons of Bland’s. One of the Highland prisoners was asked about the fight, how his side got on. His reply was : “ We gat on (no)* vary weel, till the lang man in the muckle boots came ower the dyke, but his fut slipped on a turd, and we gat him down.” The “ lang man in the muckle boots ” was the luckless Colonel Honeywood, who had but recently recovered from wounds received at Dettingen, namely, 23 broadsword cuts and two musket balls, which were never extracted. On this occasion he received three sword cuts about the head ; he was removed to Howgill Castle, of which he was the owner, through his mother, the heiress of the Sandfords, of Howgill. He was afterwards M.P. for Appleby from 1754 to 1784, and died in 1785, having attained high rank in the army. He lost his sword at Clifton, which was carried off by Cluny, chief of the Macphersons, as a trophy. According to Mr. Savage and Lord George the fighting must have been over about 5.30, but Mr. Lamb, in a letter printed in *Carlisle in 1745*, says it lasted until 8 o’clock. I imagine that when the Highlanders began to retreat after the skirmish the Duke’s light horse followed them up, and that “ popping shots ” continued for long to be exchanged between stragglers from both sides. The Newcastle map marks a spot north of Lowther Bridge as the Rebels Last Fire.

One episode of the fight remains to be mentioned, for which the Newcastle map (see plan i.) is the sole authority. The figures 10, thrice repeated, are explained as “ The place that Oglethorpe first appeared ; the way that he went to engage a partie of rebels at Pillar Hill, who fled.” The place is Brougham Common, east of Clifton. Oglethorpe was, as mentioned before, moving up with Ligonier’s dragoons from Orton. Nothing is said as to what time he appeared on Brougham Common ; of his light horse and chasseurs we heard early in the day, but of Oglethorpe and Ligonier’s dragoons we know nothing, except what the map says. If Oglethorpe was on Brougham Common before Lord George retreated from Clifton he should have cut Lord George off from Lowther Bridge and Penrith. We can only suppose he was unable to get up in time.

The Highlanders, after the skirmish at Clifton, went off to Penrith, and marched at once from that place to Carlisle, marching all night ;

* The “ no ” is a conjectural emendation of mine ; it makes the story tally with Cluny’s surprised exclamation of “ What the devil is this,” which looks as if at first things were not going well with Cluny’s men ; no doubt matters were much improved for Cluny when the commander of the dragoons went down.

the whole Highland army arrived at Carlisle early next morning in a sorry condition, and straggling over eight miles of road. The Duke and his forces occupied Clifton that night, the main bulk of them standing under arms on the moor.

The number of the killed and wounded on each side has been the subject of much discussion. Captain Hozier says the total number of the English killed or wounded exceeded one hundred men, while the Highlanders lost but twelve. Let us see what the actual witnesses say. Thomas Savage says: "Ten of the King's men were killed and twenty-one wounded, and five rebels." Mr. Lamb rode over the field at eight o'clock next morning, and saw "Seven of our men dead, and there was thirteen wounded. . . . I only see four rebels killed." Ray says eleven of the King's men were killed and twenty-nine wounded, and he specifies the killed as seven of Bland's, three of Cobham's, and one of Mark Kerr's. The wounded included Colonel Honeywood, Captain East, and Cornets Owen and Hamilton. The English official account was 40 killed and wounded. The parish register at Clifton agrees exactly with Ray's account, except in giving one man less from Bland's; it agrees exactly with the number of dead given by Savage, viz., ten; but one man of Bland's lingered and was buried on the 8th of January, 1745, O.S. The following are the extracts from the register:—

"The 19th of Dec., 1745, Ten Dragoons, to wit, six of Bland's, three of Cobham's, and one of Mark Kerr's Regiment buried, who was killed y^e evening before by y^e Rebels in y^e skirmish between y^e Duke of Cumberland's army and them at y^e end of Clifton Moor next y^e Town.*

Robert Akins, a private Dragoon of General Bland's Regiment, Buried y^e 8th Day of Janry., 1745.

Savage and Lamb were eye-witnesses, so was Ray, but he had the opportunity before he wrote his book of correcting his information by the official returns. The regimental records of the three regiments engaged make the killed twelve; the discrepancy of one man may be accounted for by a desertion, or a wounded man dying subsequently at Carlisle.†

Against these statements must be put one by the Chevalier de Johnstone, that "whole platoons of forty and fifty men might be seen falling all at once under the swords of the Highlanders. He also says some puts the English loss as high as 600, i.e., at more than the number at which Lord George estimated the whole number of men dismounted for the attack. The Chevalier was not

* I have been told that before the English dragoons were buried, "the clerk's wife stripped their holland shirts from them, and that woman never did a day's good after."

† Bland's dragoons buried several men at Carlisle, but not necessarily wounded men; so did the following foot regiments—Guise's, Herbert's, Pultney's, Bolland's, Perry's, Richbell's, Lord Bury's, General Wolf's, the Old Buffs, the Welsh Fusiliers, y^e Royal Irish, the 7th, 56th, 12th, and the train of artillery; about a man daily for six months after the Duke of Cumberland retook Carlisle; there was an equal mortality among the prisoners taken and kept at Carlisle. *Transactions Cumb'd and West'd Antiq. Society.* Vol. II., p. 350.

an eye-witness, for he marched on to Penrith with the artillery, and what he says are "mere camp shaves," and may be paired off with the statements of the "eye-witness" cited in Hodgson's Westmoreland, who says he saw scores of Highlanders fall, and "I am sure they never rose again while I kept my station." All accounts agree that only five of the Highlanders were found dead on the field. Canon Machell has supplied me with the following interesting note by Mr. Hill, from the Hill Collections for a history of Westmoreland:—

27th Oct. 1847. Being in company with Mr. William Brougham* in Clifton church this day, when he was speaking of levelling the earth immediately about the church and removing it to another part of the burial ground, I mentioned the foregoing extract,† and expressed my surprise that no parochial record appeared relative to the interment of the devoted Highlanders who were known to have fallen in the skirmish, when Mr. Brougham stated they had all been buried in a field now belonging to him, near the upper end of the village, where their place of sepulchre had, many years ago, been pointed out to him by old Rachel [Quere Rachel Younger, of Penrith, buried at Clifton, 14th July, 1823, aged 89], who died some 30 years ago, in about her 90th year, and who told him she had seen them all laid side by side in one grave, under a hedge; it was several years since he had been upon the ground, but he thought he could still find the place.

They were buried by "The Rebel Tree." The legend that 30 or 40 dead Highlanders were thrown into Clifton Mill Dam is very doubtful, in fact I take it that in the dark both parties fired high and wide; there is proof of this in the fact that Thomas Savage's cattle were in the thick of the fray, and were unhurt. The Chevalier de Johnstone says the total loss of the Highlanders at Clifton was only twelve, and their total loss in England, including these twelve, only forty. But letters printed in *Carlisle in 1745* and written by Messrs. Hutchinson, Lamb, and Nicolson‡ state that from 40 to 70 Highland prisoners were taken after the Skirmish at Clifton. This is corroborated by an inscription on the gilt chandeliers in Penrith parish church:—

These chandeliers were purchased with the fifty guineas given by the most noble William, Duke of Portland, to his tenants of the honor of Penrith, who, under his Grace's encouragement, associated in defence of the government, and town of Penrith, against the rebels in 1745. The rebels after their retreat from Darby, were put to flight from Clifton and Penrith, by His Royal Highness, William, Duke of Cumberland, after a short skirmish nigh Clifton moor, which began at four in the afternoon, on Wednesday, the 18th December, 1745.

Rebel prisoners taken by the tenants of Penrith and the neighbours, were upwards of 80.

The question has been much mooted as to which army was victorious in this, the last engagement ever fought on English ground. Both commanders claimed a victory. Most writers put it down as a defeat for the English, which checked their pursuit of the Highlanders, and Ewald, in his life of Prince Charles, accuses (very groundlessly it seems to me) the Duke of Cumberland of a want of veracity

* The late (second) Lord Brougham.

† The entry in the register about the dragoons.

‡ pp. 136, 137, 138.

in his account of the action. But the very account cited by Ewald as proof of the Duke's want of veracity agrees most singularly with the real facts of the action as detailed by the witnesses I have called. The Duke says :—

After a ten hours' march* our cavalry came up with rebels just beyond Lowther Hall—nay, we even heard that their rear was in possession of it, but they left it on our approach, and threw themselves into the valley of Clifton, which we immediately attacked with the dismounted dragoons, and though it is the most defensible village I ever saw, yet our men drove them out of it in about an hour's time, with a very small loss.

This agrees exactly with what Savage and Lord George say : The firing lasted half-an-hour, and half-an-hour after it ceased Lord George retired. The Duke continues :—

"Cobham's and Mark Kerr's behaved both extremely well. As it was quite dark before the skirmish was over, we were obliged to remain contented with the ground we had gained."

I shall have something to say on this presently.

"What the rebels may have lost I can't tell ; we have four officers wounded, none mortally, and about forty men killed and wounded."

All this is strictly correct and true. He then goes on to say that the King's Own Regiment (Bland's) suffered severely, got into confusion and gave way ; he does not conceal it. He further says that—

"The little affair at Clifton, though but trifling, has increased the terror and panic which has daily been coming on among the rebels."

Mr. Ewald cites this with the remark "H.R.H. coolly says." H.R.H.'s remark was, however, quite justifiable. The way in which the Scotch hussars were Sunday-chased all round Westmoreland by a few rustics justifies it. Of the conduct of the same hussars at Clifton Lord George says :—

"Our hussars, upon seeing the enemy, went to Penrith. One of their officers, Mr. Hamilton, with two or three of his men, had dismounted, being ashamed of the going off of the others."

That is "terror and panic" enough, bolting and leaving their officer. The whole Highland army was, after Clifton, in a very disorganised condition. What does Lord George himself say of it ?—

"It was lucky I made the stand at Clifton, for otherwise the enemy would have been at our heels, and come straight to Penrith ; where, after refreshing two or three hours, they might have come up with us before we got to Carlisle. I am persuaded that night and next morning when the van entered Carlisle there was above eight miles from van to our rear, and mostly an open country full of commons."

I will not say Lord George Murray was under the influence of "terror and panic," but clearly he was in a very anxious frame of mind.

But why did not the Duke pursue the Highlanders in their hurried retreat ? He says :—

* Twenty miles of difficult country and bad roads.

"He dared not follow them because it was so dark, and the country between Clifton and Penrith so extremely covered; besides his troops, both horse and men, were so fatigued with their forced marches."

Mr. Ewald calls this an excuse; it seems a very reasonable one. His troops had marched that day 24 miles in 10 hours; it was dark; after 6 p.m. on the 18th of December; the country between Clifton and Penrith such as could be most easily defended; two rapid and broad rivers, Lowther and Eamont, crossed by narrow bridges, are situate between these places; the road was a narrow lane between high walls. Lord George indeed says he could not have hindered the Duke from following him into Penrith, and that he could not have lined the walls. Lord George is quite right—with the Duke at his heels he would have had no time to loophole and line the walls, and form ambushes, but the Highlanders, who remained in Penrith and never appeared on Clifton moor, might easily have loop-holed and lined every wall, defended Lowther and Eamont bridges, and turned every house (and there are some very suitable ones) into forts. No prudent commander would by night venture into such country unless he were first aware of the sort of opposition he would meet with.

Mr. Ewald indulges in the following sneer at the Duke, for which I think there is not the slightest foundation.

"History teaches us that the Duke of Cumberland is not the only commander who has represented a defeat as a victory in his despatches."

The Duke fought his enemy, drove him off the ground, and bivouaced for the night on it; by all the laws of war he is entitled to score a victory. He did not follow up his advantage for three good reasons:—His troops were fatigued, the country was difficult, it was dark, after night-fall.

Lord George himself, as we have seen, only writes of the affair as a "stand," a successful one indeed, and he withdrew at once after he had made it; he did not (as Mr. Ewald says) send for reinforcements *after it* that he might improve it; he sent for reinforcements *before it* in order that he might make a flank attack on the dragoons while in the lanes to the south of Clifton moor. These reinforcements he did not get, so that he could not carry out his intention. But he did get his artillery off safe, and that artillery must have been for the last two days a matter of great apprehension to him. It seems that the events of the day are creditable to the military skill of both generals, and each was probably justified in considering he had got the better of his rival. I think that neither of them is open to the charge of falsifying despatches; one admits his hussars bolted, the other that Bland's dragoons broke.

APPENDIX I.

REGIMENTS PRESENT AT CLIFTON MOOR.

It may be interesting to identify the various cavalry regiments which figure in the fight, with the names by which they are now known in the Army List.

Lord Cobham's dragoons are the present 10th Hussars, to whose colonelcy F. M. Lord Cobham was appointed the 14th May, 1745. Lord Mark Kerr's

dragoons are the present 11th Hussars, whose colonelcy was held by that officer from 1732 to 1752. Gen. Bland's dragoons are the present 3rd Hussars, formerly the K.O.L.D. Ligonier's dragoons were afterwards the 8th Horse, but are now the 7th Dragoon Guards. Kingston's Light Horse has no representative in our present army; it was raised by the Duke of that name on the occasion of the 1745, and was disbanded in the next year, immediately re-embodied as the 15th Light Horse, but disembodied in 1749. Two regiments in 1745 bore the name of the Duke of Montagu, one, that now known as the Bays or 2nd Dragoon Guards, and formerly known as the Queen's Horse; the other, a regiment of Light Horse, raised like Kingston's on the occasion of the 1745, and disbanded in the following year; the regimental records show that the Bays (2nd D. G.s) were at Clifton. There were also present a "large body of gentlemen volunteers, well mounted, who appeared under arms, served at their own expense, and put themselves under Major-General Oglethorpe, styled the Royal Hunters." (*Ray's History of the Rebellion.*) They are more frequently called the Yorkshire Hunters, and were afterwards with General Hawley in Scotland.

APPENDIX II.

THOMAS SAVAGE, OF THE TOWN END, CLIFTON.

The identification of Thomas Savage's house as the farm marked "Town End" on the Ordnance Map is proved by a map of Clifton, kindly lent me by Mr. Little, Lord Lonsdale's agent; this was prepared in 1810 or thereabouts with a view to the enclosure of Clifton moor, and Thomas Savage's house is distinctly marked on it. Mr. P. Gillbanks, of the Lowther Estate office, has kindly consulted the title deeds. It was purchased on April 29th, 1819, by the Earl of Lonsdale from Thomas Savage, grandson of the Thomas Savage of the 1745.

APPENDIX III.

THOMAS SAVAGE TO RICHARD PARTRIDGE.*

CLIFTON, 29TH, 12MO., 1745.

ESTEEMED FRIEND RICHARD PARTRIDGE.

By this know thine I received, and shall hereby give thee the results of the affair here, as it was from the beginning to the end, I being both an eye and ear witness to the truth thereof. But in the first place I cannot easily avoid acknowledging the favour and protecting hand of power to be manifested, as thou, by the following account, may understand.

(1.) First, as to the rebels, when they came south we did not suffer much, but they seemed to have great confidence that they would proclaim their king in London on the 24th of last month, and crown him on New Year's day, and then they would send Geordy, as they called him, over to Hanover, and would tread down his turnip field dykes; highly disesteeming the Duke, calling him Geordy's lad, Geordy's Wully, with many more opprobrious speeches;

(2.) But on their return north they were cruelly barbarous and inhuman when here, for their leaders gave them liberty to plunder for four hours, and then to burn Lowther, Clifton . . . and Penrith, and some say for six miles round. But the Most High, whose power is above the power of man often preventing

* This letter is printed in "The History of Penrith," published in 1858 by B. T. Sweeten of that place, without any author's name on the title page; a second edition without date was published by Hodgson, of Penrith, in which the author's name is given as T. Walker. The letter is said to be printed from a copy of the original letter in the possession of Mr. John Mason, of Eamont Bridge, and Mrs. Mason is stated to be a descendant of Thomas Savage, but this is probably an error for Mr., as Esther, daughter of Thomas Savage, married John Mason, of Bleach Green, Eamont Bridge. As these books are not very accessible, I print this letter *in extenso*, but for greater convenience broken up into numbered paragraphs.

wicked designs, it certainly was the Lord's doing in bringing forward the noble Duke and his men in the very hour of great distress ; as for my own part I must ever love and esteem him as a man of worth.

(3.) Now I shall give thee to understand the beginning and the end of the engagement.

(4.) First the rebel hussars being gone past to Penrith, came riding back to my door in haste between one and two in the afternoon. Then in an hour after came back again, driving up the rear of their army to my door, and some others then took their place, and they wheeled off and set themselves in ambush against my barn side, being so enclosed with cross houses that our King's men could not see them until close to them, we not knowing their design, but I firmly believed it to be evil, and so went into my house ; yet could not long be easy there, and returned forth again, and looking about me I espied the commanders of the King's men appearing upon the hill at about 400 yards south of my house, whereupon my very heart was in pain, for believing that a great number might be cut off before they were aware ; so our care was to give the King's men notice, for which my son* ventured his life and gave them notice about 300 yards before they came to the place ; when, in the meantime, a second ambush was laid about 100 yards nearer to our King's men, and the King's hussars with some of the Yorkshire hunters came down, and so soon as they came opposite to the first ambush the rebels fired upon them, but did no execution, and then issued out the ambush at my doors, and a furious firing they had, the King's men acting the quickest and nimblest that ever my eyes beheld, not one of them receiving any harm. Some horse followed the former, so that in a few minutes the rebels ran away like mad men, and just by my door one of the rebels was brought down and taken, and a Captain Hamilton was also taken at the same time. They were both had up to the Duke.

(5.) Then all was still about an hour, in which time I abode in the house, the King's troops still standing upon the common ; in which time my son went over a little green, to see if he could get the cattle brought into the houses, but seeing that in vain, came homewards again, when four rebels, on horseback, seized him, called him a spy, and had him down under their horses feet, swearing desperately many times they would shoot him ; three of them commanded the fourth to shoot him, which he attempted with his gun, and then pistol, but neither would fire, so he escaped, and came in a little after.

(6.) I was again growing uneasy to go out, which I ventured to do ; and, looking about me, I saw the King's men standing, as before, upon the common ; turning me about, I saw the rebels filling the town street, north of my house, and also running down and lining the hedges and walls, even down to my house on both sides. Then I was in great pain for the Duke and his men, it beginning to grow darkish ; but I ventured my life and stood a little off, and waved my hat in my hand, which, some of them discovering, one of them came down towards me, and I called to him, bidding him cast his eyes about him, and see how the town was filled and hedges lined, after which he returned, and then a party was dismounted and sent down to meet the rebels.

(7.) And in the time of quietness, as above, they had sent off a party of their horse to plunder and burn Lowther Hall and town, and were also plundering our town, leaving nothing they could lay their hands on, breaking locks and making ruinous work, even to all our victuals and little children's clothes of all sorts. Now, it beginning to grow dark, the rebels were so thick about my house, we had no hopes of saving ourselves ; but we concluded to leave the house and go into the fields, if we could but get there. In the middle of the orchard we were parted by the rebels, one part of us driven into the fields and the other part into the house, severely threatening our lives, never expecting to see one another alive again. A son-in-law and his family were under like circumstances, for they seemed more severe upon us than upon others.

* From Ray we learn that this son was named Jonathan ; he was married, and as his father was a widower, his wife acted as mistress of the house. During the fighting she concealed herself in a large cupboard, and did not emerge, until the Duke entered the house, who addressed her "Madam, we come to protect you, not to do you any harm."

(8.) Now, to come to the matter above again, we were not all got to the fire-side again before the firing, on all hands, was dreadful, which continued half an-hour, in which time were killed ten of the King's men and twenty-one wounded, and the Duke's footman taken prisoner, who was recovered; and of the rebels, five killed and many wounded.

(9.) Early next morning were thirty prisoners under custody.

(10.) And after the heat of firing was all over all seemed still a little space, after which some came and broke in at my court door, calling sharply to open; but we believed it to be the rebels and would not open, when they began to be sharp, and orders were given to fire, they supposing the house to be full of rebels; but I called, and said I would open as fast as I could, and the first words said to me were, "Could the Duke lodge here to-night," to which, with pleasure, I answered "Yes;" and pleasant, agreeable company he was—a man of parts, very friendly, and no pride in him.

(11.) Much on this head I could say, if it would not be tedious to thee, yet I shall mention one thing more to thee, very remarkable, which was, our cattle were all standing amongst the slain men, and not one of them hurt, and them that were banished from our house came in again next morning, which the Duke's men said was a wonder they were not all killed, our next neighbour* being shot at the same time.

(12.) Thou mayest know, also, I had the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Kingston, with about one hundred more, and as many horse. I have not yet mentioned a scaffold erected by the rebels behind a wall at the corner of my house, as we believe, to cut off any that night coming to my Court, which, if it had not been that they had fled, the noble Duke had stood a bad chance there. I am afraid thou can scarcely read this; but, if thou thinks proper to show this to anyone, I would have thee copy it fair; and show it whom thou wilt, even if it be to the King, I should be easy, because I know it to be the truth. I will conclude, with true love,

THOMAS SAVAGE.

APPENDIX IV.

TOM TINKLER TO HIS COUSIN.†

Dear Cousin,

(1.) As I promised in my last to be a correspondent of yours, I have delayed longer than I would have done thinking to get you some news material, and some particulars of what has happened in and about Penrith. As a great many places in this nation had raised numbers of men in arms, the gentlemen of Penrith, to show themselves loyal subjects among the rest, associated and raised about eighty as a guard for the town, and to distinguish themselves, and had been exercising near a fortnight.

(2.) On the 9th of November, when the rebels appeared before Carlisle, all their intentions were laid aside and as silent as if there had been nothing to do; but, however, as there's bad persons in every place, and for doing all the

* I have not found this person's name.

† A copy of this letter was given to me by Mr. John Powley, of Langwathby, to which village the writer belonged; it was written to a cousin in London. The original draft or a contemporary copy (which I have seen) is in the possession of Mr. William Hodgson, of Langwathby, who is descended from the writer. From the absence of date, signature, or address, and the presence of numerous corrections and interlineations, I feel convinced Mr. Hodgson's document is the original draft of the letter. Richard and Thomas Tinkler were in 1745, well to-do statesmen (yeomen) of Langwathby. The baptism of Thomas, the son of Thomas Tinkler, and Elizabeth, his wife, is entered in the Langwathby register for February the 17th day, 1697-8. Thomas Tinkler, of Edenhall, and Isabel Barrow were married at Langwathby, May 19th, 1734; they had a numerous family, some of whom were baptised at Langwathby and some at Edenhall, which are contiguous parishes always held together, Langwathby being originally a chapel to Edenhall.

prejudice they can, some had informed the rebels of everything that had been carried on at Penrith.

(3.) On the 18th their vanguard, composed of 100 horse and several of their quarter-masters, came to Penrith. The 19th they made a demand of 1,000 sts. of hay and 10 loads of oats each from Lowther Hall, Ednal Hall, Dalemain Hutton John, Hutton Hall, and Greystoke Castle. They all complied with their demand except Lowther, who would not bring them anything. The 20th the said horse left the town and took up their quarters at Lowther Hall: the same evening Lord George Murray arrived with 600 Highlanders, and as many more lay at Plumton Wall: these marched over Eamont Bridge by six o'clock. The 21st in the evening their prince, as they called him, arrived, and great Lords who had marched on foot from Carlisle at the head of their regiments, who came straggling in all that night. 22nd they halted; several of them put their linen out to wash, and made the same demand as above, and 10 bushel of oats from Langwathby and all the towns as near Penrith, and billets for a great number of men likewise. This made everyone think they had been for staying some time, because General Wade was at Hexham. 23rd they all marched out of town; they behaved better than was expected, and most of them left something. Every (one) was cheerful and thought they had got well quit of them: they kept 150 in Carlisle.

(4.) 28th, 20 horse of those came and demanded quarters for 2,000 more; the townsmen did not credit this, and resolved to take them; some let them know what designed against them; they mounted and rode out of town in great hurry; they went but to Lowther Hall, and took up their quarters, begun very rude, forced open all the doors. At this Mr. Armitage rode to Penrith for aid. He no sooner made it known, than there was 60 to assist him with 20 guns only. They advanced to Lowther in the best order they could, and at the first fire they drove the rebel guard from the gates. Another party rushed into stables at backside and seized some of them, while the rest fired so briskly at those making for the kitchen and others in the inside that they wounded eight of the rebels; then they called for quarter. In the meanwhile eight had made their escape through the garden (this happened at ten o'clock at night). One man from Penrith shot through thigh, but recovered soon.* As this was the first defeat the rebels had met with, they returned like victors to Penrith that night. This so incensed the rebels at Carlisle that they threatened to burn Penrith and Lowther. Circular letters were sent all the country round desiring assistance in case of an attack; the beacon was to give the signal where a guard was kept. The townsmen began to wear their cockades again, and raised all their force, which was 50. In the meanwhile they carried the prisoners to General Wade, who was then in Yorkshire. At the instance of this he sent them 120 soldiers to their assistance, so they were not afraid of anything from those at Carlisle.†

(5) The 10th of December, news came that the Rebels was retreating back again which put all in a great stickle. Again 14th, express came that a 1,000 were near Shap, all their armed men were called up and soldiers' were resolved to resist; they lined the lane at proper distances between the town and Bridge,‡ and orders were to be dressed when to begin the attack. The beacon was fired, and several country fellows went to assist, and all the country arose and went on to Penrith Fell. In the morning express arrived signed Duke of Cumberland, that the rebels that were seen night before were only 116 horse, the Pretender was amongst, and the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, and others of their chiefs, and supposed to have half-a-million of money with them, desired to take care of them, and for the rest they were all surrounded at Lancaster. At 10 o'clock word came they were at Cliburn, same number as mentioned in the express. This made the country in greater spirits than ever. A great number of horse rode to Udfit (Udford)

* An account of this exploit is in Ray's *History of the Rebellion*. See also a letter from Mr. Nicolson to Dr. Waugh, printed in Mounsey's *Carlisle in 1745* p. 116. Mr. Armitage was the steward at Lowther.

† I do not recollect these soldiers being mentioned in any other account.

‡ Eamont Bridge.

expecting them there, word came they were going over Eden Bridge;* some crossed the water into Mickleton's, others over our bridge,† horse and foot expecting battle upon our moor.‡ They met at Appleside hill within pistol shot. Thos. Teesdale,§ of Ousby, was the first that fired at them, they returned and rode back up the moor by Culgaith, country pursuing through Newbiggin up-moor through Kirkby-thore, still firing when near; Jack Boucher|| standing upon what design I cannot tell was desired to keep out of their way; they seized him for a guide; he answered he would go for his horse and accordingly he did. He has been imprisoned since. He conducted through the water, Bolton, Morland, Newby-Mill-flat, up a narrow lane near Reagle, and were pursued so close they were forced to quit two horses with something like large cloak bags on them, some attempted to take them off, but they were heavy. The rebels were no sooner out of the lane then they faced about and sent a shower of shot amongst them, which hurt none, but made the country retreat in confusion coming at so great a disadvantage. Thos. Teesdale was forced to quit his mare of £7 value, which fell into their hands, and (he was) ill put to it to save himself. This gave them time to recover their bags. As soon as the rear of the cavalry came up made a push and shot a horse under a hussar and took him a prisoner, they were put to flight again as far as Orton Scar; then night coming on and horses so much fatigued they were obliged to leave the chase for the day. The Rebels refreshed at Orton two hours, and went quite back to Kendal, where the rest of the army was.

(6) The 16th, all the bottom of Westmorland was up in arms thinking to (get) this rich prize, but it was a day too late, otherwise they could not have escaped. News came in the morning to Penrith that the whole rebel army was at Shap, this put all in confusion. The soldiers came to Gamelsby that night and scarce a man was left in town. 17th, the rebels entered the town at two o'clock afternoon, threatening to burn it and all the country round, for Sunday Hunting¶ took all horses they could meet, and stripped any one of their shoes, they also forced open all doors that were shut. 18th, they seemed to halt until four o'clock when they all got to arms, our army had been seen by them. Half of them marched over Eamont Bridge and lined all the lanes and hedges about Clifton to Brougham, the rest made for Carlisle. Five o'clock Duke of Cumberland arrived at Clifton with part of the army.

* At Temple Sowerby.

† Langwathby Bridge over Eden.

‡ Langwathby Moor.

§ "Thomas, son of Thomas Teasdale and Isabel, baptised Oct. 9, 1748," Ousby Register : the father in this entry is probably the hero of Appleside Hill.

|| The name of Boucher does not occur in the Kirkby-thore register, but Bowser does : John Bowser was churchwarden in 1742, and married Margaret Hutton in 1743. In 1741 he executed a conveyance in which his name is spelt Boushar, and Boushur, though he signs John Bowser. He must be the Jack Boucher of the letter : he was father of General Sir Thomas Bowser, commander-in-Chief Madras Army, see Atkinson's "Worthies of Westmorland," vol. ii., p. 229. John Bowser was a substantial yeoman : the family estate was sold by the general.

A local tradition, of which Mr. Jamieson, of Crackenthorpe, informs me, says that four of the Duke of Perth's hussars, who had lost their way, were guided through Belton by one Bowsher, of Drybeck, just as people were going to church. Drybeck is a village $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles S. S. W. of Appleby, where the Bowshers had property, which was sold about 35 years ago.

¶ The 15th, the day of the great chase, was a Sunday.

The Friar-Preachers, or Blackfriars, of Norwich.

BY THE REV. C. F. R. PALMER.

(Continued from page 170.)

BUT despite all difficulties and obstacles, a noble and beautiful pile of buildings was raised again. In the restorations it is evident that the old walls were used, and that the buildings were devoted to their original uses. The central quadrangle or cloistral cemetery was 85 ft. square. The cloisters around it were double and vaulted, having four windows on each side and large rooms over them, and were continued from the S.W. corner westward towards the street forming the convent entrance, and from the N.W. corner northward, in which latter part was the kitchen. At the N.W. angle were painted two very large crucifixes with many inscriptions on each side of them, one on the N. wall at the end of the W. cloister, the other on the W. wall at the end of the N. cloister. On the N. side was doubtless the refectory; on the W. the *frayter* or friary proper; above the cloister on the E. was the dormitory, one great room which ran from end to end, with the library partly abutting on it on the S.; and the chapter-house in the middle of the same cloister extended beyond it eastward. The school for the education of novices mentioned in 1376 was probably near it. The library was rebuilt about 1450 above Becket's chapel, which was 55 ft. by 20 ft. The *fermery* was over the W. of the S. side running over the convent entrance. Harrod conjectures that this *fermery* was the place where the friars received their rents, etc., and that the infirmary was on the opposite side; but what rents were there to receive? It might possibly have been the procurator's room, but was, indeed, most probably the infirmary. The hospice or guest apartments lay, doubtless, on the same side. From the S. cloister to the steeple of the church was a vaulted passage, of which, however, Harrod could find no trace.

The church was restored on a magnificent scale, between 1440 and 1470, in the Perpendicular style of architecture, except the old Decorated E. window which remained standing. The old church was converted into the choir, to which were added a nave with two aisles, and a steeple between the nave and choir. The full exterior length was 255 ft. exclusive of the W. porch of 15 ft., the choir being 100 ft., the nave and aisles 126 ft., the steeple 14 ft., and the walls 15 ft.; in width the choir and steeple were 32 ft., the nave was 33 ft., and the aisles were 16 ft. each. The church was so far finished in 1452 that the windows were filled with stained glass.

The choir was lighted by ten noble five-light windows, and the enormous E. window of seven lights with beautiful tracery. At the E. end stood the old altar: on each side were the stalls. The reredos was made in 1458. In the middle, before the high altar, was the tomb of Sir Simon Felbrigg, by whose generosity and that of his family the choir had been partly built and adorned. Other

benefactors were commemorated on the wainscot, which was curiously painted and gilt, representing many historical passages of scripture and also several legends. On the lower rails of the wainscot were these inscriptions :—

ORATE PRO ANIMABUS RICHARDI BROWN NUPER MAIORIS CIVITATIS
NORVICI ET ALICIE CONSORTIS SUE.

ORATE PRO ANIMABUS EDMUNDI SEGEFORTH MERCER CIVIS NORVICI
NUPER DE SALLE ET JOHANNES ET ELWYSE UXORUM SUARUM ET
OMNIUM BENEFACTORUM EORUNDEM.

ORATE PRO ANIMABUS WILLELMI NORWICH QUONDAM MAIORIS
CIVITATIS ET QUONDAM CONSORTIS SUE ET OMNIUM
BENEFACTORUM.

ORATE PRO ANIMA JOHANNIS NORWICH SACRE PAGINE PROFESSORIS.

Brown was mayor in 1454, Segeforth died in 1452, and Norwich was mayor in 1452. At the W. end stood the organ. On the rood-loft, besides the rood, were the images of St. Quirinus, St. Peter of Milan, etc., with lights before them; as also had the images of St. Michael, our Lady, St. Agnes, St. Nicholas, St. Christopher, etc., all which were in the choir. The sacristy stood on the N. side.

The nave was separated from the lateral aisles by seven arches on each side, supported by six tall piers, and the whole was lighted by seven large windows in each aisle, a window at the W. end of the nave and aisles, and fourteen large windows on each side of the clerestory of the nave. Between every two clerestory windows were carved in freestone the arms of Erpingham. This has led to the general belief that Sir Thomas de Erpingham built the nave, that when he died in 1428 it was not quite finished, and that the glazing was completed by Sir Robert de Erpingham, his son, rector of Brakene, a friar of this house, who died about 1445; but when the style of the clerestory, not earlier than 1450, is considered, the opinion appears far more probable that F. Robert applied the Erpingham property in aid of the funds for erecting the church, and that the friars commemorated him by putting up his family arms in stone here, and in glass in the windows. When the windows of the church were filled with stained glass, the effect must have been extremely striking; but all is now demolished. In the middle of last century, the six most western ones were still in existence, and afforded a clue to other benefactors of the fabric. There were the arms of Sir Thomas de Kerdeston, knt., impaling de la Pool and Wingfield, and, *az.*, on a saltire, *arg.*, the five wounds, *gu.*; Sir Andrew Butler, knt., Sir William Phelip, knt., and Richard Gege, esq., executors to Sir Thomas Erpingham; bishop Alnwick's, who was supervisor to his will; also the arms of Erpingham, Felbrigge, Stafford, Clifton, Shelton, Stapleton, Spencer, and Rede; and, *gu.*, two fesses, *or.*, in chief three besants; *arg.*, on a canton, *sa.*, a cross potency of the field; and, *gu.*, a chevron between three gambs, *or.* In the W. window were the arms of England, and those of the prince of Wales: this window has now only modern debased tracery in it. At the E. end of the N. aisle stood the altar of St. Barbara, which

before 1459 was enclosed in a chantry chapel founded by Ralph Skeet, from whom it was afterwards called Skeet's chapel. In the S. aisle was an altar dedicated to the B. Virgin Mary. And at the upper end of the nave under the great rood stood the altar of the Holy Cross, before which the guild of the Holy Rood met for religious services. There was also a guild of St. William kept here, which is mentioned in 1521. There were two entrances into the church. The porch at the W. end of the nave was small and poor in style. The S. porch into the aisle formed the principal entrance, and the fine carved-oak door, certainly as old as the clerestory, bore the arms of the donors, John Paston, esq. (who in 1444 when his father died was 23 years old) impaling those of his wife, Margaret, daughter and heiress of John de Mauteby.

The steeple was a great ornament to the city. It was a fine lofty pile, sexagonal at the top, beautified with curious carvings of arms and other decorations within and without, and battlements of open and spire work. It was built about 1462, by the liberality of Dame Katherine, widow of Sir Simon Felbrige, knt., Dame Margaret, wife of Sir Constantine Clifton, Sir Gilbert Talbot, knt., Thomas Ingham, and Sir Roger Harsick, who left legacies or gave sums in life-time for the purpose. The arms of these benefactors were carved in stone and inserted into the fabric; and among them, Talbot impaling Clifton, Talbot single, a lion rampant impaling Monthermer, and many impalings and quarterings of Cailey; also the arms of Sir Simon Felbrige in a garter, and those of Stapleton, who were all benefactors. In the steeple were three large bells and a clock: one of the bells bore this distich—

LAUDO DEUM VERUM PLEBEM VOCO CONVOCO CLERUM
DEFUNCTOS PLORO PESTEM FUGO FESTA DECORO.

The whole church was built of rubble with stone quoins and dressings.

All churches of the mendicant orders enjoyed the right of sanctuary. In 1364, an important case happened at Norwich. Three prisoners who were indicted of diverse felonies escaped out of the castle, and took sanctuary at the friar-preachers. Thereupon Thomas Seintomer, then sheriff of Norfolk and warden of the gaol, was punished for the escapes. The citizens were also impeached, and a fine of 15*l.* was required of them. They contested the matter in court, and in their petition to the king and council, averred that the prisoners were never in their custody, and that such cases were always charged upon the sheriffs; in the suit commenced at midsummer, 1365, against the executors of the sheriff, his two daughters and co-heiresses, and the tenant of his lands, judgment, after many an adjournment, was given in favour of the citizens, and a writ was directed, Oct. 25th, 1376, to the sheriffs of Norfolk, charging the 15*l.* on the executors.

There was an anchoretage attached to this priory. It appears that the dwelling was at the N.W. corner of the lands near the bridge; and the recluse in 1441, 1442, and 1446, was "Richard hermyte of Newbrygg," who had his clerk, and was probably the same "Richard Ferneys hermite some time of Newbrigg," that made his will in 1464.

Then the cell passed to female devotees. An ancess was here in 1472, and in 1479 a legacy of 20*d.* was left to her. In 1481, Katherine Foster was the recluse, and at the Reformation Katherine Man was ejected.

The common seal of this priory is engraved in Blomefield's History. It is vesica-shaped, and was evidently made late in the 15th century. "The impression is remarkable; at the entrance of the church [under 5 canopies?] stands St. Dominick their patron, with a friar behind him; and opposite to him is a person in a high crowned hat, and a man behind him; between them on the ground is a fire burning, at which the person discoursing with the saint points, and between them is a book thrown out of the fire by the violence of the flames; just by St. Dominick's forehead is a cross fitché, and over his head [on the upper part of the whole back ground] are the seven stars." The miracles of the baptismal star and the unburnt book are here commemorated. Legend around: SIGILLUM COMUN' FRATRU' P'DICATORU' NORWICEN'.

Among the priors of this community, the following names are still preserved. In 1290, F. NICHOLAS DE EDENHAM. In 1305, F. GEOFFREY DE DERHAM. In 1374, F. ADAM DE HALESWORTH, who was also procurator-general for the order in the whole diocese. In 1381, F. ROBERT DE FRETONE. In 1451, F. JOHN PYNNESTHORP. In 1470, F. ROGER DE WICHINGHAM. In 1483, F. SIMON CURTEYS. In 1501, F. ROGER BEMUDE, who that year commenced D.D. in the university of Cambridge. It is very probable that F. ROBERT FELMINGHAM, first mentioned in 1484, was prior here before he was elected provincial. He was a native of this convent, and was empowered by the master-general of the order, Jan. 12th, 1491 [1490-1], to preach anywhere and to hear confessions, to take up his abode in any convent he desired, to dispose of his goods within the order, and to present two youths whom he had brought into the order, for the priesthood as soon as they had completed their 22nd year, and to take them to any convent for their studies: Aug. 17th following, to read the sentences "pro gradu et forma magisterii" in any university: and March 20th, 1497 [1496-7], to take any chantry or chapel outside the order. He was unanimously chosen provincial in 1505, and the master general, Nov. 11th, confirmed the election. In 1505, F. THOMAS BEKVLLS. In 1507, F. WILLIAM BRYGGES or BRIGGS, in which year he was admitted by the University of Cambridge to the degree of B.D. He had, with others, the master-general's licence, Nov. 14th, 1509, to proceed as S. T. Mag. on the conditions that he had read the Sentences entirely, that he had completed his courses according to the constitutions, and that he was fit to be regent in any house of general studies, all which the provincial chapter was to certify in writing; and thus in the following year he commenced D.D. at Cambridge. In 1507 he gave the provincial's (Felmingham) letters of participation in all the spiritual benefits of the whole province of England to John Bery and Margery, his wife, and Margaret, her mother, on account of their devotion to the order: the master-general had given faculties, July 30th, 1497, to the prior

of Norwich, to receive brethren and sisters to the suffrages of the order under the convent seal. About this time, F. PENYMAN. In 1534, F. EDMUND HARCOCK, late prior of Great Yarmouth; and in 1535, F. THOMAS BRIGGS, B.D.⁴³

Of the religious, very few names and fewer particulars can be collected. Towards the close of the fourteenth century flourished F. John de Somerton, who was born at the village of that name in Norfolk, educated in this convent, and for his learning was made B.D., and being a famous preacher, published a volume of sermons in English and Latin for the whole year. In 1371, F. Geoffrey Swanton. In 1378, F. John Kynyngham. In 1379, F. Thomas Peverel. In 1380, F. John Clare. In 1391, F. William Marcaund. The same year, F. John *Badewrllis* (*sic*) went to the master-general, who, Dec. 1st, approved of his journey, allowed him to go to the Roman court and stay there as long as necessary, made him a lector at Norwich for three years, and gave him leave to obtain the degree of S. Th. Mag. from the Pope. In 1398, F. John Merton was assigned by the master, July 4th, to the convent of Lynn, but was made a student for two years at Norwich. In 1416, F. Thomas Wodebridge. In 1418, F. Robert de Erpingham. In 1420, F. John Lakyngythe. In 1448, F. John Rockland. In 1458, F. Robert Cleve and F. Tho. Derham. In 1460, F. Simon Upton and F. John Norwiche. In 1472, F. Jerome, F. William Worsted, F. Henry Sharpen, F. Henry Cossey, F. Walter S. T. B., Dr. Myntelyng. In 1475, F. John *Hrossthyr* (*sic*), had the master's licence, Dec. 13th, to choose a convent for himself in his own province, if the greater part of the chapter would accept him, to confess twice a year, and to use linen in moderation. In 1477-8, F. Henry Cossey, of Norwich, Feb. 7th, was transferred by the master to any convent of the province, with the consent of the greater part of the brethren to accept him, and made a native of it, and had licence to be in the service of Sir William de Hastingge for two years, which, Dec. 24th following, was extended to an indefinite time, and with any persons: in 1481, being B.D. and still at Norwich, he had the master's licence, Nov. 10th, to receive the insignia of S. Th. Mag. in any university, and probably was laureated at Cambridge. In 1477-8, F. William Kymberley, of Norwich, was empowered, Feb. 12th, to choose any convent within the visitation of Cambridge, and become a native, if the greater part of the brethren consented, and to visit his friends four times a year without any inconvenience to his convent. In 1493, F. John Windham. In 1495, F. Robert Tye. In 1496-7, F. Roger *Beanowonte* (*sic*) had the master's licence, March 10th, to choose his own confessor. In 1503, John Dorman, was empowered, June 8th, by the master, to choose any convent agreeable to him. In 1529, F. ... Todenham, D.D. It is said that, about 1530, F. John Hodgkin, F. Richard Ingworth, and F. Geoffrey Julles or Julleys were at Norwich.⁴⁴

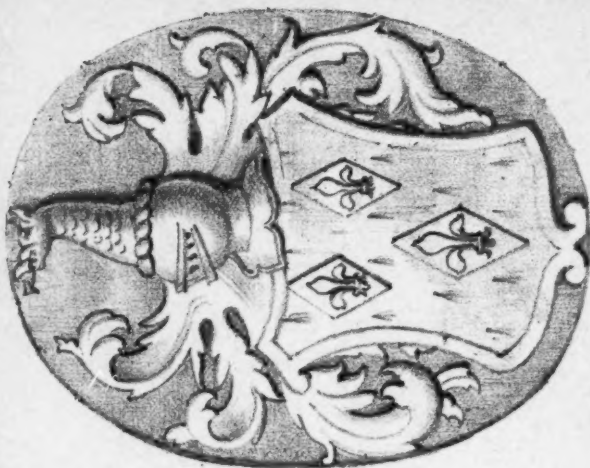
(*To be continued.*)

⁴³ Kirkpatrick, Blomefield, Harrod, etc. Reg. mag. gen. ordinis Romæ.

⁴⁴ Pits, Blomefield, Reg. mag. gen. Fox.



VI



V



ARMORIAL LEDGER STONES, HOLY TRINITY, HULL.

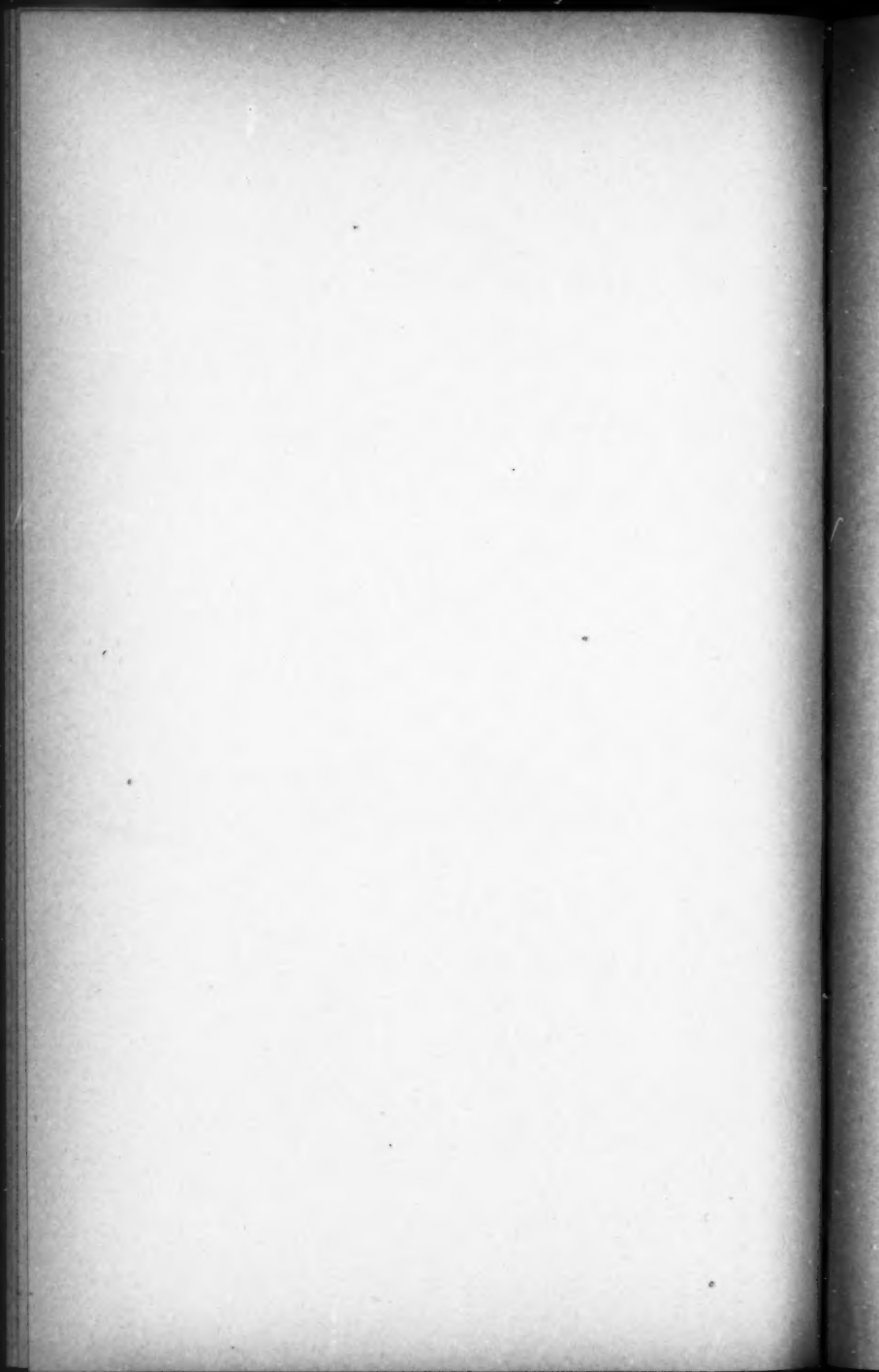


VII



VIII

ARMORIAL LEDGER STONES, HOLY TRINITY, HULL.



The Armorial Ledger Stones in the Church of The Holy Trinity, Hull.

BY D. ALLEYNE WALTER.

(Continued from p. 132.)

V.

Here lieth the Body
of M^{rs} Jane Skinner
second daughter of
M^r William Skinner
who departed this life
Feb^r the 22nd 1753
Aged 77 years.

VI.

1749 Jan^r 25th
Interred M^{rs} Elizabeth Skinner
Aged 66
of exemplary Piety & true Patience
under tedious infirmities of body
Daughter of M^r Will^m Skinner
Merchant.

VII.

Here lyeth the body
of the worshipfull Henry Barnard twice
Maior of this Towne
who departed . . . August 1661
and also the body of
William Barnard Esq^r
his Grandson 2^d son
of S^r Edward Barnard
Knight who died the
28 day of January 1718
Aged 47 years

VIII.

Here lyeth the body of
the worshipfull William Foxley Alderman
and twice Maior of
this Towne who departed this life the 24
day of September
1680 aged 71 years.

[To be continued.]

English Goldsmiths.

BY R. C. HOPE, F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

THESE lists have been compiled with the greatest care from every reliable source available. The most complete list heretofore published of the London Goldsmiths, with accurate fac-similes of their marks, is to be found in Mr. Chaffers' excellent work, the *Gilda Aurifabrorum*; a considerable number of additional names, however, occur in the following lists. With regard to the list of the York Goldsmiths, for which I am greatly indebted to the Rev. Canon Raine, York, this is the first time they have appeared in type, as is also, it is believed, the case with the Newcastle, Norwich, and Hull names, etc. The subject of Church, Corporation, and other Plate having lately been brought so much to the front, the following will no doubt prove of much service to collectors and others.

LONDON.

	Earliest Date Found.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Abbott, John		1706	
Abdy, William		1765	
		1767	
		1784	
		1790	
		1797	
Abdy, Stephen, and Jury, William ..		1759	
Abercromby, Robert		1731	
		1739	
		1731	
Abercromby, Robert, and Hindmarsh, George			
Acton, John	1600		
Adams, Charles		1702	
Adams, Joseph		1722	
Adams, Richard	1616		
Adams, Stephen		1760	
Adtherton, John	1664		
Adys, John	1451		1512
Adys, Miles	1478		1492
Ahearn, Stat.	1677		
Alchorne, Charles		1729	
Alderhead, John G.		1750	
Aldis, John and Co.	1677		
Aldridge, Charles		1786	
Aldridge, Charles, and Green, Henry ..		1775	1777
Aldridge, Edward		1039	
		1743	
		1753	1757
Aldridge, Edward, and Stamper, John ..			
Alestre, Paul	1677		
Alexander, William		1742	
Allard, Augustus	1677		
Alleine, Jonathan	1772		
Allen, James		1766	
Allen, John		1761	
Allen, Thomas	1694	1697	1709

LONDON—Continued.

	Earliest Date Found.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Allen, —	1516		
Allen, Joseph, and another		1729	
Allen, Joseph, and Fox, Mordecai		1739	1741
Alleyne, Giles	1634		
Alleyne, John	1465		
Alleyne, John	1570		
Alsop, John	1560		
Alsop, R.	1752		
Altherman	1478		
Alyn, John	1465		
Amadas, Robert	1520		
Andewerpe, John	1545		
Andrews, Robert	1580		
Andrews, Robert		1745	
Andrews, William		1697	1707
Andrews, George		1763	
Annesley, Arthur		1758	
Antony, Derrick	1550		
Apulston, Ralph		1510	
Apulton, Richard	1509		
Archambo, Peter		1720	1744
		1722	
		1739	
Archambo, Peter, and Meare, P.		1749	
Archbold, Francis		1697	
Archer, Andrew		1703	
		1710	
Ardesoif, Stephen		1756	
Arnell, Hugh		1734	
Arnett, Hugh		1719	
Arnett, M. H., and Pococke, E.		1720	1724
Arnold, Thomas		1770	
Ash, Francis	1634		
Ash, Thomas	1676	1697	
Ashley, Jerem } econ } iah		1740	1742
Ashley, —	1509		
Aspinshaw, John		1763	
Asplin, Richard	1529		
At Hay, Thomas	1405		
Atkinson, Christopher		1707	
Atkinson, William		1725	
Aubin, Henry	1700		
Austin, John	1668		
Avril, Henry	1523		
Back, John	1696		
Backe, John		1700	
		1720	
Backwall, Edward	1666		d1679
Backwell, Edward	1654		d1683
Bagnall, William		1744	
Bainbridge, Mary		1707	
Baker, George		1750	
Baker, James	1758		1773
Baker, John		1770	
Ballard, John	1677		

LONDON—Continued.

	Earliest Date Found.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Bambridge, William		1697	
Bamford, Thomas		1720	
		1739	
Bampton, Thomas	1567		
Bampster, Thomas	1519		
Banckes, Humphrey	1630		
Banister, Henry	1622		
Banyard, John	1509		
Barbe, John		1735	
		1739	
		1742	
Barber, Gabriel	1606		
Barber, Gabriel	1717		
	1720		
	1739		
Barbutt, Joseph		1703	
Barker, John	1469		
Barker, John	1740		
Barker, Joseph		1746	
Barkstead, Michael	1620		
Barnard, John		1720	
Barnes, John	1540		
Barnes, William		1702	
Barnet, Alexander		1759	
Barnet, Edward		1715	
Barret, John	1511		
Barret, John		1737	
		1739	
		1775	
Barrier, Abraham			
Barrier, Abraham, and Duncombe, Louis	1778		
Barry, John		1758	
Bartholomew, Nicholas	1549		
Barwell, Edward	1668		
Baskerville, George		1738	
		1745	
		1755	
Baskerville, George, and Morley, T. ..		1755	
Basnet, William		1784	
Bassett, Arthur	1609		
Bassingwhite, J.		1770	
Bassy, Jonathan		1697	
Bassy and Caswall	1700		
Batch, John	1684		
Bateman, Hester		1774	1789
		1776	
Bateman, Peter, and Anne		1791	
Bateman, Peter, and Jonathan		1790	
Bateman, Peter, Anne, and William ..		1800	
Bateman, Peter, and William		1805	
Bates, Aaron		1730	
Bates, Hennifrie	1642		
Bates, Henry		1738	
Bates, Samuel		1728	
		1744	
Bath, Humphrey	1650		
Bathe, John		1700	

LONDON—Continued.

	Earliest Date Found.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Bathurst, Benjamin	1677		
Bawdyn, Andrew			d. 1587
Baxter, John	1770		
Bayley, John		1751	
Bayley, Richard		1708	
		1720	
		1739	
Bayley, William			
Beale, George		1713	
Beale, Richard		1731	
Beale, William	1625		
Beamont, James	1635		
Beck, William	1516		
Bedenfield, Humphrey	1634		
Beerblocke, William	1550	1569	
Beesley, Henry		1714	
Beezley, Thomas		1755	
Beldon, John		1784	
Beley, Derrick	1612		
Bell, David		1756	
Bell, Joseph		1756	
Bell, William		1759	
Bellamy, William		1717	
Bellasye, William		1716	
Benn, W.	1747		
Bennett, Bradshaw & Co.		1739	
Bennett, Edward		1727	
		1739	
		1756	
		1758	
Bennett, Peter		1739	
Bennett, William		1796	
Bentley, Benjamin		1698	
Berthelot, John		1739	
		1750	
		1704	
Beschefer, James			
Best, George	1657		
Beston, William	1445		
Betham, James		1743	
Betts, John		1720	
Bevault, —			
Bigge, Richard		1700	
Bignel, John		1718	
		1720	
		1697	
Billingsby, Francis			
Billingsby, John	1661		
Bindon, George		1749	
Binge, George	1618		
Binnell, Daniel	1598		
Bird, Joseph		1697	
		1724	
Bishop, Frances	1627		1633
Bismere, William	1445		
Blackford, J.	1750		
Black, Louis		1761	
Blackborrow, Samuel		1720	

LONDON—*Continued.*

	Earliest Date Found.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Blackford, Anthony		1702	
Blackmore, Henry	1614		1651
Blake, Edward	1677		
Blake, John.	1677		
Blakely, Benjamin		1715 1720 1738 1739	
Blanchard, Robert	1668		1680
Blanchard, Robert, and Child, Richard ..	1677		
Bland, Cornelius			
Bland, John	1728		
Blaygrave, James	1697		
Blomer, Henry	1668		
Blundell, Peter	1599		
Bodington, Edmund		1727	
Bodington, John		1697	1715
Bokys, Thomas	1516		
Bolton, Job	1677		
Bolton, Peter	1561		
Bond, William			
Bond, William, and Phipps, John ..		1754 1699	
Bone, Ismael			
Broker, Phillip	1691		
Boothby, George	1701		
Boothby, Roger	1600		
Boreman, Louis	1500		
Bossall, Henry	1538		
Boston, William	1451		
Boswell, Henry	1557		
Boteler, Robert	1451		
Boteler, William	1668		
Bowdon, William	1460		
Boughton, Thomas	1538		
Boult, Michael			
Boulthby, John	1613		
Boulton, T. P., and Humphreys, A. ..			
Boutho, John, and Wilson, —. . .	1677		
Bowden, William	1460		
Bowen, Thomas	1623		
Bowes, Sir Martin	1544		d1566
Bowes, Thomas	1590		
Boyce, Thomas	1611		
Boyce, William			
Brabant, —.	1677		
Brabourne, Samuel	1677		
Bradley, Jonathan.		1697	
Bradshaw, Anthony	1633		
Bradshaw, Bennett, and Tyrill, R. . .		1737 1697	
Braford, Benjamin			
Braithwaite, George	1728		
Brandon, Joseph	1690		
Brandon, Robert	1549		
Brassey, John		1697	
Bray, Richard	1516		
Brett, William		1697	

LONDON—Continued.

	Earliest Date Found.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Brewood, Benjamin		1755	
Brice, Sir Hugh	1469		1486
Brind, Henry		1742	
Brind, Walter		1749	
		1781	
		1699	
		1697	
Broak, Job			
Brockes, Edward			
Brocklesby, Abel			
Brocklesby, Robert	1615		
Brode, John	1584		
Brodier, Matthew		1751	
Brokat, —	1509		
Brocklesby, Abel		1727	
Brome, George		1726	
Bromley, John		1720	
Brooke, Edward	1594		
Brooke, Richard	1582		
Brooker, James		1734	
Broughton, J.		1779	
Brown, John		1774	
Brown, Moses		1697	
Brown, Roger, Sir	1451		
Brown, Robert		1736	
		1739	
Brown, William	1633		
	1739		
	1752		
Brugier, Phillip		1738	
Brumhall, John			
Bruse, John	1677		
Brush, Phillip		1707	
Bryan, John		1739	
Brydon, George		1720	
Brydon, Thomas	1696	1697	
Buching, John	1441		
Bucket, John			
Buckle, J.	1638		
Bull, Anthony	1600		
Bull, John		1698	d1589
		1766	
Bumfries, Thomas, and Jackson, Orlando			
Burlingham, Samuel and Co.	1677		
Burne, James		1724	
Burridge, J.		1720	
Burridge, Thomas		1717	
Burridge, Mary		1706	
Burrow, Alice and George		1803	
Burrow, John	1677		
Burt, J.	1668		
Burton, Robert		1758	
Burwash, William		1802	
Bussey, E.	1516		
Butcher, William		1755	
Butler, John	1680		
Buttall, Sarah		1754	
Butty, Francis and Dumee, Nicholas		1759	1766

LONDON—Continued.

	Earliest Date Found.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Buteux, Abraham		1721	1730
Buteux, D.	1685		
Buteux, Elizabeth		1731	
Byrlyney, John, the elder	1465		
Cachart, Elias		1742	1751
		1748	
Caepell, James	1677		
Cafe, John		1740	
		1742	1754
Cafe, William		1757	
Calame, A.		1764	
Calame, J. A.		1764	
Caldecott, William		1756	
Callerd, Isaac		1726	
		1739	
		1751	
Callerd, Paul			
Calton, Henry	1518		
Calton, Thomas	1530		
Cam, John		1740	
Campar, George		1749	
Canner, Christopher		1697	
Carco, William	1598		
Carman, John		1748	
		1752	
Caro, George	1602		
Carol, George	1600		
Carlton, Thomas		1744	
Carter, John	1768	1776	
Carter, Richard		1778	
Cartwright, Benjamin		1739	
		1754	
Castell, John	1572		
Chadwick, James		1697	
Chamberlain, John		1704	
Chapman, Francis	1614		1635
Chapman, Joseph	1677		
Charnelhouse, William		1703	
Chartier, Daniel		1740	
Chartier, John		1698	
Chawner, Henry		1786	1796
Chawner, Thomas		1773	
		1783	
		1707	
Cheaupe, Pierre l'			
Cheney, Richard	1592		
Cheshire, Henry	1608		
Chesterman, Charles		1741	
		1752	
		1771	
Child, Sir Francis	1691		
Christian Hans	1457		
Churchill, —	1677		
Clare, Joseph		1713	
		1720	
Clark, Charles		1739	
Clark, Simon	1677		
Clausen, Nicholas		1709	1718

LONDON—*Continued.*

	Earliest Date Found.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Clay, Richard	1634		
Clent, William	1632		
Clifton, John		1708	
Clifton, Jonah		1703	
		1720	
Clobury, Nicholas	1665		
Cocker, Ebenezer		1739	1746
Cocknidge, William	1576		
Cogg, John	1668		
Coker, Ebenezer		1739	1746
Copp, George	1677		
Colds, Laurence		1697	
Cole, Henry	1483		
Cole, John		1697	
Cole, Samuel	1576		
Coleman, Stephen		1697	
Colfe, —	1666		
Collard, Leonard	1652		
Colley, Henry	1583		
Collier, Thomas		1754	
Collins, John	1580		
Collins, Henry	1698		
Collins, J. Hind		1754	
Colte, John	1601		
Collyer, Thomas	1635		
Colville, John	1655		
Congreve, Thomas		1756	
Conine, John			
Cook, J.		1699	
Cook, Thomas and Gurney, Richard		1727	
Cook, Thomas and Carew, Nicholas	1677		
Cooper, Benjamin		1748	
Cooper, Robert		1697	
		1702	
Cooper, Matthew		1699	
		1702	
		1720	
Coote, Henry	1478		1483
Coote, Richard		1799	
Cope, John		1701	

(To be continued.)

On a Seventeenth Century Cup.

BY R. C. HOPE, F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

THIS cup (Plate xxxv.), the property of John Dale, Esq., J.P. for the North Riding of Yorkshire, now living at Netherbank, Scarborough, has been in the possession of several generations of his ancestors, on his mother's side, all male issue having died; it has finally, through the hands of a line of females, descended to its present owner, who, singularly to state, was baptized out of it. It bears the inscription, "This was the gyfte of Thomas Birkbecke Esqveer (*sic*) to M Anne Birkbecke his daughter in law 1609." In the space between the commencement and ending of the inscription, and below it occurs, on a shield of arms: *a fess gobony* between three lions' heads, impaling two bars, on a canton a mullet of five points, pierced. (*Antiquities of Gainford*, p. 108.) The cup is 9 inches in height, the diameter of the mouth of the bowl is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of the foot $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the depth of the bowl is 4 inches. It is of silver gilt, and much resembles in general appearance the Communion cups of the period. It has a baluster stem; the bowl is somewhat egg-shaped, round and under the lip of which is the above inscription. There are three Hall marks (1) old York mark, nearly obliterated; (2) indistinct, owing to the cup being slightly split here, owing no doubt to the pressure of the stamp; it looks something like a "d;" (3) D, the York date letter for 1609. Mr. Cripps appears to have made an error in the York Alphabets in his work on *Old English Plate*, for all his letters are a year too late. This D supplies the only example of that letter, which is required for the year 1609 to assist in the completion of the York Alphabet No. 3. This fact adds much to the value and interest of the cup.

Flogging for Larceny.

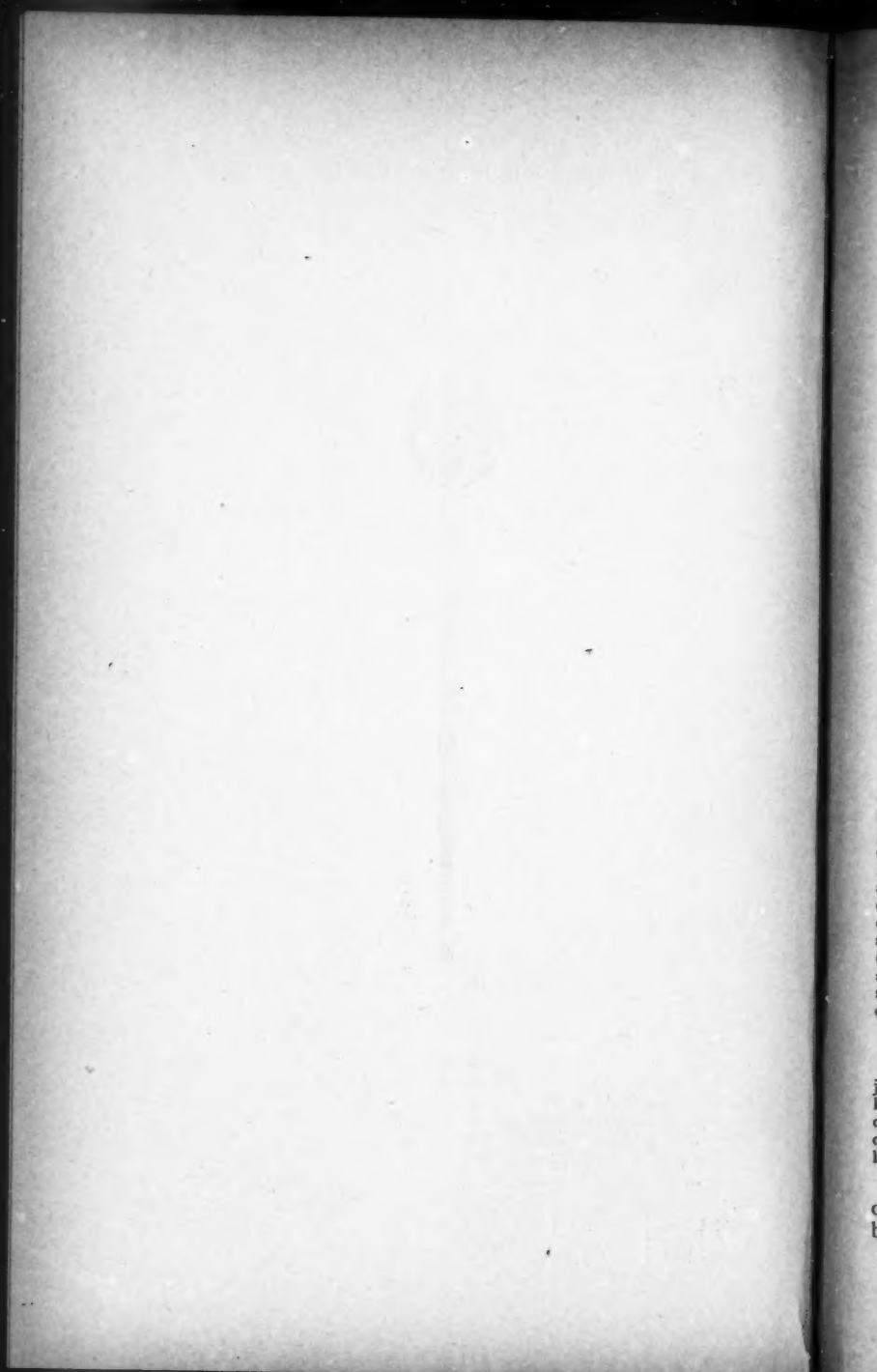
THE flogging for petty offences of both sexes in the open market seems to have been a much favoured punishment in Derbyshire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The County Records, now in process of being edited, abound in instances. The following are two verbatim extracts:—

3 William and Mary. It is ordered that Thomas Bromley Convicted at this Sessions for Pettit Larceny on Fryday the twenty third day of July Instant bee stript to the waste and bee whipt till hee bee bloody in the full time of the markt at Derby and bee then delivered and set at liberty.

7 Anne. Edward Rodgerson and Mary his wife both found guilty this sessions of Petty Larceny Ordered both to be whipt through the markt in the hight thereof to be striped to the wast and whipt at a carts ars from one end of the Towne of Wirksworth unto the other.



EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CUP.



Notes on the Liturgical Colours from the Lebrun Papers.

BY J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.S.A.

AT the end of Pierre Lebrun's well-known work upon the Ceremonies of the Mass, there is a long list of questions proposed by him to the Chapters of France, upon the variations of their special rites from that of Rome. One has often thought that if the questions were ever answered, and the answers could be found, the documents would be of considerable interest for the history of Liturgy in the kingdom of France. It appears now that some of the answers are still extant; and that the originals were acquired by the National Library at Paris about twenty years ago. They are in the *Fonds latin*, No. 16,802, and are a collection of letters addressed to the learned Oratorian from the clergy of different French dioceses at the beginning of the last century. Question 25 was the one which dealt with the liturgical colours, and the answers to which therefore were of special interest to me.

Let us begin with the primatial church of Gaul; the letter from Lyons is dated 1715, and this is the text:

"On prend du violet en avent, depuis la LXX. jusqu' au dimanche de la XL. inclusivement jusqu' a pasque, mais les jours de feries en caresme on se sert de couleur de cendre: le vendredi saint on prend du violet, et pour les morts du noir mesle de Blanc. Il y a quelques autres differences sur cela; mais l' on peut voir le Bref de Lyon."

In another answer from Lyons we read as to the colours:

"Aux fêtes de Noel, la Pentecote, des Apotres des Martyrs et tous les dimanches depuis l' octave des Rois jusqu' a la Septuagesime et depuis celle de la pentecote jusqu' aux (*sic*) avent exclusivement de meme qu' a tous les jours de feries pendant ces temps la on sert du rouge. La circumcison (*sic*) et la Toussaints de meme. Aux Fetes de Paques, l' octave, l' ascension, la Trinité, la Fete Dieu, toutes les fetes de la Ste. Vierge, aux fetes des confesseurs pontifs, des saintes Vierges, soient martyres ou non, et pendant tout le temps Pascal tant les dimanches que les jours de feries, on se sert de Blanc. Pour les Confesseurs Pontifs on prend du blanc ou du jaune, pour les confesseurs non pontifs du vert. Tout l' avent et depuis le dimanche de la LXX. jusqu' au jeudi saint on se sert de violet (*sic*) ou Bleuf (*sic*) except le dimanche de Laetare, qu' on orne l' autel de vert (*in margine* à la page 16) seulement. Le jeudi saint du rouge, et ou l' on fait les saintes huiles, du blanc. De meme que le samedi saint. Pour tous les offices des Morts du noir."

As a note there follows:

"Depuis le mercredi des cendres jusqu' au Mercredi saint inclusivement tous les jours de feries l' autel est orné de paremens de toile Blanche avec des croix dans le milieu du satin bleuf (*sic*.) Le pretre le diacre et le soudiacre portent des chasubles couleurs de cendre ce qu' on appelle sacs pour le diacre et soudiacre qui les quittent le soudiacre quand il va dire l' epître, et le diacre quand il va dire l' evangile, et ne les reprennent plus mais les laissent derrier l' autel."

As far as I have searched at present, this is the earliest account of the Lyons sequence. None of the numerous missals printed before 1737 gives a hint of the colours. And it is interesting to

notice that the sequence is practically identical with that printed in 1737, and also with that in 1771, and so on down to the abolition of the Lyonese liturgy about 1858. In 1866, however, the Church of Lyons was so fortunate as to get a particular Missal back again, but the old Lyonese colours were not restored, and the Roman sequence of to-day appears in the general rubrics.

Yet in passing through Lyons in April last I received the following information from the mouth of the Director of the *Petit Séminaire*: the ornaments of the *couleur de cendre* are still in use on all the weekdays of Lent, whether at the High Mass of the Chapter or the Low Masses of the Canons, from Ash Wednesday to the Wednesday in Holy Week inclusive. This is the rule given by the too famous Montazet, in his edition of the Lyons Missal of 1771, while in 1737 the ash colour did not begin before the first Monday in Lent, the day on which it was the mediaeval rule for the Lenten colours to be assumed. On Sundays violet is worn.

Thus, in spite of the Roman sequence being now the written rule, the old colour, which dates from 1715 at the least, is kept up as regards Lent, though, I am sorry to add, in no other point that I could learn. The season after Pentecost is now green, and the three Christmas masses are all said in white, while up to 1858 each had a different colour, violet, white, and red, as they had at Paris, Narbonne, and the Augustinian Canons at Jerusalem in the twelfth century,* and probably also at Beauvais.

I was most courteously allowed to see the ash-coloured ornaments now in use in the cathedral church. They are of the modern shape, and the colour may be described as white with a perceptible infusion of violet; in some there was a greenish tinge visible. They were lined with violet. Here and there they were mended with grey silk. Thinking to buy a piece of the stuff out of which these ash-coloured ornaments were made, I went to the vestment maker who lives hard by, and who supplies the church with vestments. But he had no ash-coloured ornaments by him, and told me that when new were wanted they sent for the stuff to the silk merchant and took what he had in stock. Thus it seems that they have lost their tradition of any special colour, and are dependent upon the tint which happens to be in fashion at the moment. This is the more to be regretted because ornaments of this colour have become very rare. When in Paris, last year, I inquired of the Director of the *Musée de l'Hotel de Cluny*, whether he had any such under his care, and he had not even heard of this liturgical colour; and yet it was very widely distributed; it was almost universal in France, where it was called indifferently *couleur de cendre*, white, or grey,† and it was also to be found in Germany and in Spain. In England the Lenten colour, we know, was white in practice, whatever the rubric may have been; and I am much inclined to think

* See *Reliquary*, Oct. 1887, p. 194.

† Claude Villette, *Les raisons de l'office, et ceremonies qui se font en l'église*, Paris, 1611, pp. 78 and 107.

that the English Lenten white was, if not identical with, at least closely allied to, the ash-colour of France, Germany, and Spain. Even to this day a pale colour is used in Germany during Lent, notwithstanding that most of the German dioceses accepted the Missal of Pius V. early in the seventeenth century. In many books blue (*blau*) not violet, is said to be the Lenten colour.* and Kutschker goes further, describing this blue as a pale, lead colour.† And I am told that until recent times a very pale colour was used in Lent by the English Roman Catholics, although they are supposed to have followed for many years the directions of the Pian Missal.

Further, we may note that the Angel of Penance, in the *Purgatorio* (ix. 115) is clothed in ash-coloured garments :

Cenere o terra che secca si cavi,
D'un color fora col suo vestimento.

And we are also told that this ash-colour or grey was one of the mourning colours used in France. We read of "draperies of grey cloth, with which the chambers of the princesses were always hung in court mournings."‡ Was this again allied to the tan colour which was used in the funeral of a Queen of France,§ and which Le Brun Desmarettes says was the ancient black used by ecclesiastics and the black monks?|| It appears to have been worn by the grey friars, according to Claude de Vert.¶

We may pass now to the notes of the Besançon sequence.

On observe que pendant l'advent les dimanches on se sert d'ornements jaunes. Le diacre et le sousdiacre au lieu de tuniques ont des manteaux de couleur jaune repliés au devant et sur les épaules. Lesquels ils mettent bas scavoir le sousdiacre un peu avant qu'il chante l'épître et le diacre avant qu'il chante l'évangile ; celui cy faisant en tortiller le sien par l'un des clerics, puis il le reprend et le met ainsi entortiller en escharpe de l'épaule droite au cote gauche le venant attacher sous le bras iusqu'après l'évangile qu'il le deplie et remet comme auparavant.

Aux feries de l'advent le diacre et le sous diacre vont a l'autel sans tuniques ayant seulement leur manipule et le diacre l'étole : le pretre porte une chasuble de couleur violette.

Tous les jours de l'advent excepté les dimanches on dit sexte devant la grande messe et non après.

Après que le dernier coup de vepres en acheve de sonner on fait au choeur une lecture de la meme homelie des leçons du matin c'est un chanoine qui fait cette lecture devant le lutrin de la meme maniere et aux memes inflexions de voix qu'aux leçons de matins.

Aux dimanches de la LXX. de la LX. et de la L. on se sert aussi des memes ornements de couleur jaune qu'aux dimanches de l'advent.

Le premier dimanche de careme et tous les autres iusqu'aux dimanches (*sic*) de la

* See Schauburger, in Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchen-Lexicon*, Freiburg, 1849. Sub voce *Farbe*. "Die Blaue ist . . . vorgeschrieben für die hl. Advent und Fastenzeit." See also Mast, *sub voce* Advent.

† Kutschker, *Die heiligen Gebräuche . . . vom Septuagesimä bis Ostern*, Wien, 1843, p. 8. — "Bei den übrigen heiligen Functionen kleidet sich die Kirche vom Sonntage LXX. anfangen in die blaue Farbe ; diese ist blass und bleifarbig."

‡ Jeanne Louise Henriette Campan, *Private Life of Marie Antoinette*, Lond. 1883. Vol. i. p. 26.

§ Godefroy, *Le Cérémonial de France*, Paris, 1619. p. 569.

|| De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1718. p. 77.

¶ Claude de Vert, *Explication, etc., des cérémonies de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1708. Vol. ii. p. 328. Note.

passion on porte les mêmes ornements jaunes, mais des le dimanche de la passion on prend les ornements rouges.

Here, again, we have for comparison the sequence printed in the Besançon Missal of 1694. In the printed document there is not a word about the yellow ornaments for the Sundays in Advent and Lent. The printed sequence, with the exception of red for the last fortnight of Lent, is almost Roman.* Thus we have another instance of the want of agreement between the written law and actual use, besides what we have just seen in the custom at Lyons of using ash-coloured ornaments where the rubric commands violet. In the middle ages this antagonism was, I think, often pronounced. The written law was there, perhaps; but it was little regarded.

The use of yellow as a penitential colour may strike us. Yet it is said to be a mourning colour in China, though by some the Chinese tint is defined to be white or ash-coloured.†

Lord Malmesbury tells us that in 1846, he saw at Innspruck the funeral of an officer of the Tyrolese corps, and that the coffin was covered by a yellow pall with black borders.‡ And Anne Bullen mourned in yellow. "When the Court dressed in violet, Anne Boleyn dressed in yellow, and this has generally been construed as a refusal to wear mourning. But yellow was the colour for royal mourning at the Court of France."§ And this was like the practice of the Byzantine Court.|| Yellow was a mourning colour in Brittany.¶ Liturgical colours are a mere reflex of secular custom; so that if yellow were used as a sign of mourning at Court, it could very naturally be looked for in the sanctuary. On Good Friday, we find that at Narbonne in 1528** yellow copes were worn. The same colour was in use at Laon†† and Angers‡‡ on the same day. At Lincoln, yellow was among the Lent colours, according to the inventory of 1536.§§ And at Westminster Abbey, amongst the *Lent Stuff*, there was "a travers of grene sylk" with "a yellowe awter clothe with the four evaungelysts" in the Inventory, taken at the time of the dissolution.|||| This reminds us that the middle age writers considered green as a substitute for yellow, just as black,

* Even Lebrun Desmarettes says of Besançon: "Ils suivent beaucoup le Romain moderne." (De Moleon, *Voyages lit.* p. 155).

† See the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1886. Vol. xv. p. 100. Note.

‡ Earl of Malmesbury (Harris) *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, Lond. 1884. Vol. i. p. 178. Oct. 23. 1846.

§ J. H. Blunt, *The Reformation of the Church of England*, Lond. 1869. Chap. iii. p. 195.

|| Codinus, *de officiis magnae Ecclesiae et aulae Constant.* c. 21. Parisiis, 1648. p. 143.

¶ John Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, Edit. by W. Carew Hazlitt. Lond. 1870. Vol. ii. p. 205. Note by Editor.

** *Missale ad usum S. Narbonensis ecclesiae metropolitanae*, Lugd. 1528.

†† Ant. Bellotte, *Ritus eccles. Laudunensis*, Paris, 1662. Obs. p. 767.

‡‡ De Moleon (Lebrun Desmaretts) *Voyages liturgiques*, Paris, 1718. p. 95.

§§ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Lond. 1830. Vol. vi. Part iii. p. 1285.

|||| Mackenzie Walcott, *Trans. of the Lond. & Middx. Archaeological Society*, 1875. Vol. iv. p. 113.

violet, and blue were considered the same. So we find green worn on Good Friday at Vienne,* green is recommended to be worn at funerals in two liturgical books of the sixteenth century;† and in England the use of green for *requiem* will be found pointed out in the Wills and Inventories; sometimes the black ornaments have orphreys of green.‡

Both at Lyons and Besançon we see instances in practice of a colour being worn on the Sunday different from that of the week days following. And I am bound to add that I find such a difference not so uncommon as I once thought it. I have met with it in three other Churches besides these just named.

The *manteaux* worn at Besançon during Advent and Lent by the deacon and sub-deacon were the chasubles, the *planetæ plicatæ*, of these seasons, as Claude de Vert fortunately tells us in a note.§ The *sacs* worn by the deacon and sub-deacon at Lyons on the week days in Lent are stated to be chasubles, which, Le Brun Desmarettes tells us, were of the same shape as that worn by the priest.|| Simeon of Thessalonica uses the word *σῦκκος* as synonymous with the phaelonion or chasuble.¶

At the Collegiate Church of Avalon, the colours are said to be *Tout à la Romaine*.

From Autun this was part of the answer :

On ne se sert en avent et en careme que de violet excepté depuis le dimanche de la passion iusqu' au jeudi saint que l' on prend du rouge ; le vendredi saint et le jour des morts on se sert de noir : outre les cinq couleurs on sert encore de jaune pour les confesseurs pontifs et non pontifs.

Now, in the Autun Missal of 1845, they had changed the Passiontide colour from red to black ; it was black at Paris. Also ash coloured vestments were to be worn, if the Church possessed them, from Ash Wednesday to Passion Sunday. This is an instance of the many changes which the colours of the French churches underwent in the last century. One of the most striking cases of this change is at Narbonne, where the Missals of the 17th century give a purely Roman sequence, and those of the 18th century a sequence peculiar to Narbonne, resembling in most points the earlier account of it given to us in the documents quoted by Martene.

The authorities at Langres give us only the following note about the colours :

En avent et en careme et meme le vendredi saint on se sert du violet seulement ;

* Martene, *De ant. Eccles. ritibus*. Lib. iv. Cap. xxiii. Ant. rit. insignis eccles. Viennensis in Gallia.

† *Sacerdotale iuxta s. Romane ecclesie, etc.* Venetiis 1554. Fol. 179. recto. and *Liber familiaris clericorum*. Venetiis, 1550. Fol. 94. recto.

‡ A friend tells me that the Cistercians at the present day often have their black ornaments lined with green.

§ Claude de Vert, *Explication, etc., des Ceremonies de l'Eglise*. Paris, 1708. Vol. ii. p. 313. Note 6. On pl. vii. a drawing is given, showing the chasuble rolled over the shoulder of the deacon.

|| De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques de France*, Paris, 1718. p. 66.

¶ Simeon of Thessalonica, *De sacra liturgia*, Cap. lxxxi. in Migne, *Patrolog. Graec.* Vol. clv. p. 259.

et pour les morts du noir meslé du blanc ordinairement : et du noir meslé du rouge le jour des trespases et aux funeraillies des Chanoines.

Seeing that violet is but another form of black, it is not surprising to find it in use on Good Friday. Such was the case at Aosta, in 1733, and at Angers, in 1717, and at Lyons down to our time. Part of the service on Good Friday was often said in violet and the rest in black: as at Rouen, in 1751, and at Exeter under Bishop Grandison. The same thing was done at Arles, according to a M.S. Pontifical, perhaps of the 14th century, in the National Library at Paris. (*Fonds latin*, No. 1220, fol. 131 verso).

I cannot end this paper without drawing attention to a point which has arisen more than once in its course. I mean the indifference which was felt to the written law when it clashed with the custom of the place. Even to this day we see the same spirit at Lyons in the desire to keep up an old custom at the expense of a rubric. It was so also two hundred years ago at Besançon. And in England those who have looked over the mediaeval Wills and Inventories, will no doubt have remarked for themselves many inconsistencies of this sort. I remember, as one instance, coming across the mention of tunics for use in Lent and Advent, when the written law ordered folded chasubles. So, too, as to the number of lights on the altar. The written law ordered several at High Mass; yet the drawings of Mass actually being celebrated rarely give more than two. A striking instance is seen in a Mass of St. Gregory by Raffaellino del Garbo, where the Pope is celebrating Mass with epistler and gospeller, and yet there are only two lights.* The middle ages were splendidly inconsistent in their theory and their practice. What was their theory of the rights of the Papacy and of the Empire? and what was their actual behaviour to the Pope or the Emperor if he were in opposition to their interests? It is not surprising to find the same inconsistency in matters of mere ceremony. Even now, when it might be thought that the Sacred Congregation of Rites at Rome had reduced all to a complete uniformity, it is found that the binding character of the rubrics of the Roman Mass-book is not altogether acknowledged. In the pages of a journal appearing it would seem under the highest authority at Rome, a discussion is positively allowed upon the question whether the rubrics outside the *Ordnarium* are commands, or merely directions.† If this be the case now, what liberties may not have been taken in the middle ages?

* This picture is dated 1501, and it is the earliest instance of an altar with a gradin or shelf that I have met with. It may be noted that the cruets are on the south end of the altar itself; a curious instance of the way in which the middle ages dispensed with credence tables. The same practice would, now-a-days, be thought rather slovenly.

† See a series of articles in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* for 1887.

Jottings with the Institute in Warwickshire.

BY THE REV. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

THE Royal Archæological Institute held their annual meeting for 1888 at Leamington, an attractive and convenient centre for visiting the many places of interest with which Warwickshire abounds. The sectional meetings in the evening were of much and diversified interest, the excursions were varied and well attended, the weather charming throughout, the carriages excellently horsed, the receptions at the houses and castles visited genial and hospitable, and the talking, for the most part, pointed and clear. It is not proposed, however, in this brief paper, to attempt even the shortest summary of the daily proceedings from August 7th to August 15th, but merely to supply a few notes descriptive of some of the sketches of details, most kindly supplied by lady members of the Institute.

These illustrations are of "bits" not generally noticed, and we hope, therefore, that they may not only be a pleasant memorial of pleasant days to members of the Institute, but may also prove of some value and interest to our general readers. It should be remembered that the sketches were all taken under peculiarly disadvantageous circumstances, the time being most limited, and the sternly compelling bugle-call often sounding the advance almost immediately that a favourable position for a sketch had been found. Several of the members were most self-sacrificing in their efforts to interest the readers of the *Reliquary*; one lady seated herself on an upturned rickety wash-tub in the streets of Coventry, and braved the jeers of the small bystanders, whilst another lady nearly forfeited her lunch through assiduity to her sketch in the same city.

Adderbury church was visited on August 8th, though, owing to the previous delights of Broughton Castle and Compton Wynyates, the inspection was far too hurried and cursory. The main features of the church, with its beautiful spire, are of decorated or 14th century date. It is worthy of close examination. To the north of the chancel is a two storied vestry, probably used as a priest's chamber, with a small domestic-looking oriel window to the east, a unique feature in a parish church. There are two porches to the body of the church, that on the north side being a singularly good example of 14th century work, the mouldings being very fine and bold. Mr. Parker gives an illustration of foliage terminating in a cherub from the mouldings of this doorway in the second volume of the earlier editions of his "Glossary." The drawing here given is of a still more



noteworthy piece of moulding under the parapet of the south aisle. Some remarkable later development of the ball-flower moulding

also attracted the attention of the ecclesiologists and architects of the party during their hurried visit to this church.

The excursion of August 10th began with a visit to the little church, but seldom visited, of Baginton, a small village about three miles south of Coventry. For several reasons, however, the church is well worthy of the notice of archæologists, and it was a happy arrangement that included it within the plan of the day's proceedings. The chief feature of interest is one that we believe to be altogether unique of its date among the parish churches of England. The opening to the chancel from the nave is through a triplicate arch, somewhat resembling the so-called "Trinity" windows of three lights, occasionally found at the east end of chancels of Early English date. Several features of the church are of 13th century date, showing that the church was built, or rebuilt throughout, early in that century. Probably it had then a western bell-turret, or possibly a small tower and spire. It would seem as if this west turret had given way, and that then some ingeniously capricious architect or builder had determined to place a small bell-carrying steeple at the intersection of the nave and chancel. To effect this, the chancel arch would require materially strengthening and widening; and we believe that it was then that the former chancel arch was divided into three parts and much altered, so as to bear the shortened spire or steeple of 14th century date that now rises above it. Our sketch gives an effective south-east view of this unusually placed turret, in which hang two bells.



From Baginton, a beautiful drive took the members through the park, so rich in ancient oaks, to the church of Stoneleigh. The blocked-up north doorway is a good example of Norman work of about the middle of the 12th century. The outer moulding is of the round pellet design, and the two inner mouldings of the double-cone pattern. These surround an intricately carved tympanum, the chief feature of which is two dragons. We are able to give an



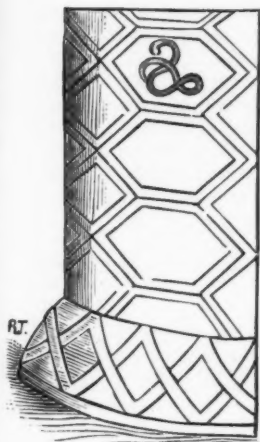


FIG. A.

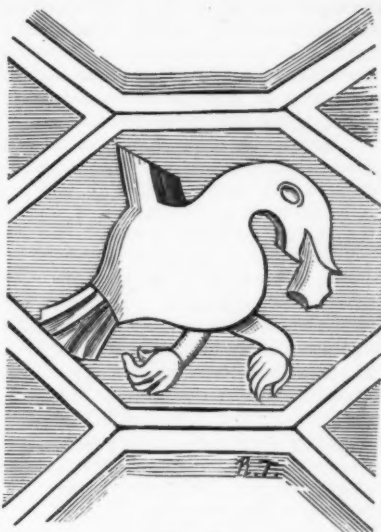


FIG. B.

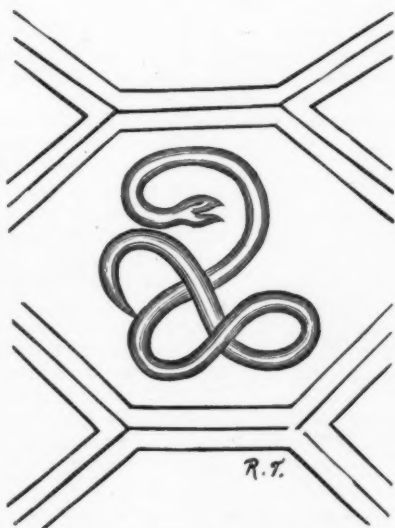


FIG. C.

accurate sketch of this tympanum, which has of late years suffered severely from the weather. The other Norman features of the church are the font, with the twelve Apostle under arcades (said to have been brought here from Maxstoke), the lower part of the tower, the archway from the nave into the tower (nearly concealed by a gallery), and the fine archway into the chancel.

The massive chancel arch has several unusual features. The outer members of the jambs are tied together, as it were, by narrowing triangular bands, ornamented with pellets decreasing in size. We have only observed a like method of ornamentation at one other church, namely, at the south Norman doorway of Allestree, near Derby.*

The idea of these triangular bands seems to be a rough imitation in stone of nailed hinges. The central jambs of the inner member of this arch are incised with lines in a lozenge pattern, which is continued on the base (Fig. A). On the jamb on the north side is a singularly rude carving of a dove with the olive branch (Fig. B.), and on the south side a coiled serpent in a like position (Fig. c.)

The symbolism of these figures is usually explained to be that of the Holy Spirit on the north side, and the power of evil on the south; but surely it is more reasonable to suppose that the text, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves" (St. Matt. x. 16), was in the mind of the sculptor, as an injunction to the priests passing through this arch to the daily mass. The base of the arch on the north side (Fig. D.) is of great interest, and excited some discussion among the members of the Institute, as it was then, for the first time, pointed out by

Dr. Cox to be of older date than the rest of the archway. We believe it to be the reversed abacus of the Saxon arch of an earlier church utilised by the Norman builders.

Saturday, August 11th, was devoted to visiting some of the chief places of interest in the City of Coventry, under the skilled leadership of Mr. Fretton, F.S.A. One of the first places visited was Ford's Hospital, a well-preserved, exquisitely finished little specimen of the timber-work of the 16th century. The Hos-

pital, founded by William Ford in

1529, for aged married couples, is built round a tiny courtyard

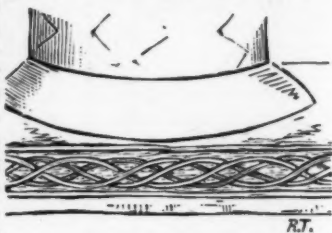


FIG. D.

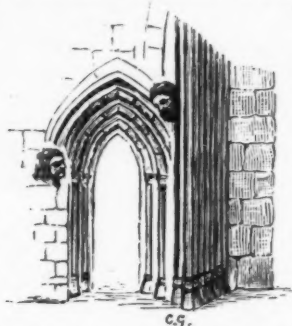


C.W.

* A copperplate of this fine Norman doorway forms the frontispiece to Vol. VII. of the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society*.

opening out of Grey Friar's Lane. A hasty sketch was made by one of the members of the timber-work facing the entrance, which gives a fair idea of the character of the whole.

The interesting church of St. John the Baptist was erected in the middle of the 14th century by St. John's Guild, on land presented by Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II. It is cruciform in shape, with a handsome central tower. The details of this church are bold, and the whole is characterised by a singular dignity, considering the comparatively small area upon which it stands. The drawing from St. John's shows the striking and unusual arrangement of the mouldings and terminal heads round the small doorway at the east end of the north aisle, through which access is gained to the tower.



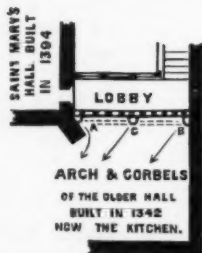
"Palace Yard" was visited in the afternoon, chiefly for the purpose of seeing a really grand oak staircase of bold renaissance design, of

Jacobean date. The house has well earned its title, for herein were entertained by the Hopkins' family, Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I. (1603); James II. (1687); Princess Anne of Denmark (1688); and Prince George, of Denmark (1690). In the court-yard the fine 17th century lead work of the shoots and pipes attracted some attention, whilst the pencil of one lady was busy sketching a remarkable wooden bell-turret on the apex of the roof of the further side of the court-yard. We have been since assured that this bell-cote, notwithstanding the weather-beaten look of the boards, is a modern erection, placed there within the last fifty years; but it is some consolation to know, as its quaintness was admired



by several of the archæologists, that it was copied from a sketch of one on the old *Hotel de Ville* of a small provincial town in Belgium.

The most interesting place in Coventry, next to the noble churches, is that grand specimen of domestic architecture, St. Mary's Hall, which was built for the use of the most important of the city guilds. On the dissolution of the Guilds, it was bought by the mayor and corporation, and has ever since been appropriated to civic purposes. In the "kitchen" are two remarkable corbels of winged figures bearing shields. Both the corbels (A and B), and the arch with the pier C, have been cut off at the back to admit of the pre-reformation wooden walling for the staircase lobby. The corbels are of the decorated period, and form part of the older hall build in 1342, at the foundation of St. Mary's Guild, and not part of the great hall afterwards built in 1394. We are glad to be able, through the kindness of Mr. T. W. Whitley, architect, of Coventry, to give drawings of the merchants' marks on these two shields, as well as a small ground plan



of the part of the building where they occur; for these "marks" are a subject worthy of closer attention than they have yet received. We have received a variety of more or less ingenious explanations of the devices or rebuses, with initials, on these two shields, but as we feel sure that the true explanation of them has not yet been reached, it seems best to leave the conjectures unprinted. Perhaps the best "shots" at the names these devices may indicate are Herring and Croskey. But little is known of the founders of St. Mary's Guild, or of the builders of the Hall; perchance the engraving of these shields may eventually lead to their identification.

On a newly discovered Bone Cave in Derbyshire.

BY THE REV. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

ON that high ridge of ground in Derbyshire between Wirksworth and Matlock, above the village of Brassington, known as Longcliffe, a small bone cave has been recently discovered that is of great and varied interest, and promises to yield important contributions to our knowledge of the habits and nature of our cave-dwelling ancestors. The cave itself, though it is gained by a very small opening in the limestone blocks that crown the lofty ridge, has been known, it is said, for some time to a few of the dwellers in the neighbourhood, and may have been occasionally detected by a Rambler in search of the picturesque; but it was not until March last that its varied deposit of bones was detected, and previous visits must have been very casual and few, for the undetected evidences of its use by both man and beast lay so near the surface, and, to some extent, altogether unconcealed.

To two of the sons of Mr. Rains, a yeoman of Brassington Moor, whose farm runs up close to the ridge, is to be assigned the credit of the discovery. Being young men of considerable intelligence, and already interested in kindred subjects, when their attention was attracted to some of the bones near the surface of the interior of the cave, they began, and by degrees carried out, an extensive exploration of its contents to some depth. The "finds" were gradually removed to Mr. Rains' out-buildings, where they attracted the attention of Lord Scarsdale, the owner of the farm. Lord Scarsdale, who is a vice-president of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, and takes an active interest in its proceedings, communicated the fact of this bone find to Mr. Arthur Cox, the Hon. Secretary. Correspondence was entered into with the great bone-cave authority, Professor Boyd Dawkins, with the result that, early in last August, Mr. Arthur Cox, Rev. Dr. Cox, and Mr. Albert Hartshorne met the Professor and made a preliminary investigation of the bone heap and cave.

Mr. Boyd Dawkins at once pronounced the remains to be of the Prehistoric age. He soon identified the bones of a considerable variety of mammalia. The principal ones were as follows:—the great urus; the small Celtic short-horned ox (*Bos longifrons*); the horse; the horned sheep; the goat; the long-legged sheep, now only found in the Hebrides; the red deer; the roe deer; the hog; the dog; and the rabbit. The skulls of a badger and of a wild cat were also identified, and probably pertained to animals that had found admission to the cave long after man had ceased to inhabit it. The presence of this variety of bones in this small cave is accounted for through the agency of man, and not wild animals. Man of the early Celtic or Prehistoric age dwelt within the cave, and here, with healthy carnivorous appetite, the skin-clad savage gnawed his bones, and threw them down behind him or on one side when consumed.

Mr. Ward's later investigations of the bone-find adds to the number of the fauna, the fox, the hare, and the hedgehog.

With regard to the human occupation of this cave (to which, we think, the name of Rains Cave should be assigned to commemorate its discoverers), the evidences, in addition to human bones, are numerous. Several of the bones of the fauna have been exposed to the action of fire, and various particles of charcoal have been found within the cave. Others of the bones have been broken and split to obtain the marrow, whilst one of the smaller bones seems to have been artificially shaped to serve as a marrow spoon. A well finished small spindle-whorl was discovered, formed of a dark hard slaty stone, which bears marks of having been turned in a lathe on one face and at the edge. A few flint flakes and "scrapers" have been found, and in adjacent fields a variety of neolithic arrow heads have been recently discovered. Two or three corroded fragments of iron were also upturned, but too small to make any conjectures as to age or use. One long iron instrument was found almost on the surface; it is over 2 ft in length, with a broadened spade-like end. It has been suggested that this instrument may have been a plough spade for scraping the clay off the share; it does not seem to be of any great age.

A variety of fragments of pottery came to light in the course of the bone search. We believe that all these fragments pertain to domestic vessels and have nothing sepulchral about them. The fragments are of two distinct periods, the one belonging to the Pre-historic occupation of the cave, and the other to its more casual occupation or use in the Romano-British period. The paste of the earlier fragments is very coarse and dark, and its present condition crumbly; it is intermixed with a white grit of calc-spar, and hence seems to have been made in the district. Some of the older fragments have a rudely impressed pattern formed by a twisted rush or thong. The later fragments are of a redder smoother ware, with well-defined wheel marks.

With regard to the various human bones found in the cave, they have received closer attention from Mr. John Ward, of Derby, since Mr. Boyd Dawkins' visit. We hope that the readers of the next issue of the *Reliquary* will have the advantage of a detailed and illustrated account from Mr. Ward's pen and pencil of this cave and its contents, of which the present record is merely a preliminary outline.

Mr. Ward obtained from the bone heap portions of five skulls, four of them ancient and one modern. Of the most perfect of the old ones he remarks, that most of the frontal, right parietal, and other fragments are all very thick. They have been exposed to the cavern drip, and are discoloured and patched with films of stalagmite. Their stony hardness is, no doubt, due to the infiltration of the drip depositing part of its lime within the substance of the bone. It would seem that these fragments lay exposed to the drip on the cave floor, just where the skull was smashed, the fractured edges being old and discoloured. It has a retreating forehead and an

ill-filled appearance, due in part to the massive supraciliary ridges and pronounced angular processes and temporal ridges. These give rise to a savage appearance, liable to be further emphasized by the absence of the rear parts of the skull by which the true tilt of the forehead is discovered. So inhuman is this appearance, that two casual observers took it to belong to some large ape. The sagittal suture is almost obliterated, and other indications show it was the skull of an elderly man.

Two of the other old skulls have, in Mr. Ward's opinion, decided dolicho-cephalous characteristics, that is, they pertain to the long-headed race who inhabited Britain in the neolithic age.

Another skull is that of a young man, and differs completely from the others in its modern characteristics, and in its comparatively fresh condition. Possibly it has not been there more than 100 years. Can this have been the scene of a murder, the instrument of death being the iron plough-spade described above? Or if not the actual scene of a tragedy, it certainly seems likely that a body has been concealed here to escape detection.

Mr. Boyd Dawkins noticed that an ankle bone showed considerable traces of rheumatic enlargement, and other bones had been similarly affected in a less degree.

Rains Cave, in its present condition, is by no means easy of access. Entrance has to be made through a very small aperture, the opening having been considerably lessened by large blocks of detached rock that have either been intentionally placed there, or have become detached and slipped into their present position. The narrow cave falls away rather precipitously until the present bottom is reached, at twenty-four feet below the entrance level. Appearances seems to favour the probability that the cave will eventually be found to be of larger area than is at present supposed. The bones are by no means exhausted, and many other interesting relics of Prehistoric days may yet be brought to light. One of the explorers when Mr. Boyd Dawkins was present, found in a few minutes, close to the surface, within a square foot, bones of horse, urus, roe deer, and man. The Prehistoric bone contents of the cave have evidently been not a little disturbed at some subsequent date. It is also thought to be not at all unlikely that remains of pleistocene animals may be found here at a lower level, as, like some other caves, Rains Cave may have been a hyæna den of an earlier age prior to its being used as a dwelling-place by neolithic man.

Systematic investigation and the driving of a deep trench into the cave will, it is expected, shortly be commenced. Unfortunately, the cave is just outside the boundary of Lord Scarsdale's property and of Mr. Rains' farm, but no material difficulty in dealing with the owner or tenant is apprehended. The Derbyshire Archæological Society have taken the matter up, and a small working committee formed, of which Mr. Ward is a most valued member. At Prof. Boyd Dawkins's suggestion, application has been made to the British Association for a grant towards the excavations.

Quarterly Notes on Archaeological Progress and Development.

THE *Reliquary* offers its hearty congratulations to REV. JAMES RAINE, D.C.L., Prebendary of Langtoft and Rector of All Saints', York, on his appointment as Canon Residentiary by the Archbishop of York. Canon Raine is the son of the late Rev. Dr. Raine, of Durham, a most distinguished antiquary. Canon Raine himself is one of the most eminent archaeologists of the north of England, and secretary to the Surtees Society. He is a man of astonishingly wide and accurate information on all matters pertaining to ecclesiology, and the Archbishop of York has earned the thanks of all archaeologists in thus acknowledging the useful labours and personal worth of Canon Raine.



THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, in response to an influentially signed petition of local antiquaries, presented to the Council by Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., has issued a circular inviting each of the well-established county societies to appoint two delegates to meet at an autumnal conference at Burlington House, for the purpose of taking joint action in matters pertaining to archaeological research. The date of the conference is not yet fixed; but the project has so far been most favourably received.



THE ROYAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE made the very modern town of Leamington their centre for this year's meetings and excursions. The week beginning August 7th was exceptionally fine, and there was a good attendance of members. The leading features of the meeting were—the masterly address of Rev. J. Hirst, president of the antiquarian section; the various careful descriptive papers prepared by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A.; the wealth of antiquities at Coventry, so well explained by Mr. Fretton, F.S.A.; and the fine examples of great mediæval residences, such as Broughton Castle, Compton Winyates, and Haddesley Clinton. It is understood that next year's meeting will most likely be held at Norwich.



THE first congress of the BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION which has been held out of England was opened on August 27th, at Glasgow, under the presidency of the Marquis of Bute. The Marquis, in his inaugural address, gave the members a careful and able summary of the whole cycle of Scottish antiquities, taking his illustrations from those places and features that were about to be visited. He divided the archaeology of Scotland into three periods—the early, the mediæval, and the modern. He considered that the early period ended with the death of Macbeth, in 1037; that the mediæval period lasted until the defeat of Mary, at Langside, in 1568; and that the modern period dates from that epoch onwards. We are glad to see that the Marquis girded at the vulgar delusion that all the ruined state of ecclesiastical buildings is to be ascribed to the Reformation.



AT the recent annual meeting of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS, held in the Middle Temple, satisfactory progress was shown. The Society has gained the confidence of many who, at one time, would have wished our churches swept of those rich historical carvings and other features which give a building its distinctive character, and which are as much its own as are the different organs of a plant in its progressive growth. The recent action of the Society towards undue reparation of the old Romanesque church of Barfreston, near Dover, has been entirely successful.



ON July the 26th, the MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY visited the churches of Edmonton, East Barnet, and Finchley. Though these buildings are not rich in antiquarian remains, there are some old histories associated with them; the district of Barnet comprehending three churches, and the manor of early importance. At Edmonton, Mr. Brabrook, F.S.A., discussed the legends connected with that place, and introduced remarks on "John Gilpin's ride to Ware." At East Barnet Church, the Vicar made some remarks on the architecture, and Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., read a paper on the parochial history. The disastrous weather lessened the number of visitors, otherwise the excursion was successful.

Strawberry Hill has lately been in the auction market, but as no one came up to the reserve the sale was withdrawn, and it is hoped this classic house will remain safe from the aggressive builder. Two more city churches are doomed for destruction, viz., St. Olave, Jewry, and St. Mary Magdalene, Doctors' Commons. Both were Wren's churches; the latter was almost totally destroyed by fire in the winter of 1886. In St. Olave, Jewry, is a tablet to Boydell, Engraver and Alderman, of London, whose Shakespeare Gallery has always been connected with his name. This and other monuments are to be removed to St. Margaret's, Lothbury.



ON August 11th, an afternoon meeting of the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE was held at STELLA HALL, the residence of Mr. Joseph Cowen. Mr. Cowen gave an interesting description of the house and its history. When speaking of the Widdringtons, who were former owners, he told the tale of Sir William Widdrington, who was Speaker of the House of Commons in the time of Charles I; it is said that he once ordered candles to be placed in the House without having first obtained leave, and for that revolutionary act was imprisoned in the Tower.

From an antiquarian point of view the most interesting portions of Stella Hall are the wings, one of which contains the rooms which formerly served as a chapel, in the upper story. In this room is preserved the holy water stoup which is carved on the outside with scallop shells in relief. Much attention was bestowed on the old wooden sixteenth century staircase leading down from the chapel, and the oaken doors, which appeared to have been preserved in their original condition. The tapestry covering the walls of the principal landing, and representing the story of Hero and Leander, was greatly admired. It is apparently of the seventeenth century and is in very good preservation. Mr. Cowen exhibited several old wooden spades found in a working in Blaydon Colliery which had been disused for about two hundred years, and presented them to the Society.



THE same Society held a country meeting on August 13th, when GAINFORD and STREATHAM CASTLE were visited. At Gainford the early sculptures in the rector's garden were examined. Amongst these are two Roman inscriptions—one, an altar dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, by Julius Valentinus, was found during the restoration of the church in 1864, in the south east pier of the tower arch—the other, inscribed NEG. VIV., was discovered during the restoration of the church at Pierce Bridge, built into the wall above the chancel arch. Both of these stones ought to be in the Society's museum.

Streatham Castle is one of the residences of the Earl of Strathmore; it has been in the Bower family since 1310. Most of the old castle, which had been a good deal damaged in the rebellion of 1569, was pulled down and rebuilt in 1718; but in the new structure several of the main walls of the old one were preserved and incorporated. The oldest part of the building is the tower (34 ft. by 24 ft.), the walls of which are seven feet thick. Mr. Dent, the Earl's agent, prepared a useful and concise paper on the castle and its owners.



A JOINT meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries and of the Durham and Northumberland Archaeological Society was held on August 31st, at HOLY ISLAND, for the purpose of inspecting the recent excavations that have laid bare a large

portion of the walls and foundations of the old Priory of Lindisfarne. Gen. Sir W. Crossman, M.P., the lord of the manor, under whose direction the work has been carried out, received the visitors, who numbered nearly 200. He gratefully acknowledged the assistance he had received from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. Mr. C. C. Hodges gave a succinct and graphic description of the erection of the monastic buildings. He thought that the recent excavations had established the fact that there had been on this site a stone church prior to the Norman one.



THE CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY held their first summer meeting on July 11th and 12th. Kendal was the place of *rendezvous*. The morning of the first day was devoted to the reading of several papers, including the first part of the President's paper—"The Retreat of the Highlanders through Westmoreland in 1745," now being published in the *Reliquary*, which was illustrated by a number of large maps. The afternoon was devoted to a visit to Sizergh, the residence of the ancient Catholic family of Strickland. Under the guidance of Dr. M. W. Taylor, F.S.A., the house was thoroughly explored; and Dr. Taylor gave an interesting history of its growth from a Peel of the 14th century into the charming but little known place that it now is. Sizergh is rich in rooms with most elaborate plaster ceilings and wood panelling of infinite variety, dating from the 16th century; the panels in the Boynton room are beautifully inlaid in arabesque patterns, worked in holly and fossil oak. One workman is said to have spent seven years over these panels. Sizergh is also rich in tapestry, part of which was given to the house by one of the family, who was bishop of Namur; the other part by the Stuarts, of whom the Strickland's were devoted adherents. The house contains a large number of valuable portraits and much interesting furniture. After the house had been inspected, Mr. Bellasis (*Lancaster Herald*) read a witty paper on the origin and history of the Stricklands, and presented the President, for publication in the *Transactions*, with an elaborate sheet pedigree of the family. A visit was paid to the chapel, where the hangings of the altar are leather of Italian work sent from Rome during the pontificate of Eugenius IV., under whose bull (yet in the muniment room) the chapel was licensed. Sizergh is not usually shown, and the courtesy of its owner in allowing the Society to ramble all over the place was highly appreciated. The evening was spent at Kendal, dinner under the chairmanship of the Mayor of Kendal, who is the Society's Secretary, and then more papers. Mr. J. S. Curwen read a paper on Sizergh, and exhibited beautiful drawings of the wood panelling. Mr. W. Wiper read a paper on the Leyburnes, of Cuswick.



THE more energetic of the party made an early start next morning for the purpose of driving over the route between Kendal and Penrith, some 25 miles over the bleak moor known as SHAP FELL. The summit was reached at 9 a.m., when the climate was Arctic, fresh snow having fallen in the county on the previous day. During the drive the old road followed by the Highlanders was pointed out by the President and Mr. Atkinson. The places where the various incidents of the retreat took place were noted, and the President finished the reading of his paper on a heap of stones near the Rebel tree at Clifton. The burial places both of the dragoons and the rebels were visited, as also the house where the Duke of Cumberland passed the night. The ideas of one of its inmates were hazy; he said he had lived there thirty years, and "nae Prince Charlie ever slept there that he kent on."

A visit to SHAP ABBEY formed an episode in the long drive; a large reinforcement of members joined there to hear the results of Mr. Hope's excavations, which he had embodied in a paper, which found an attentive audience. The meeting terminated in Penrith churchyard, where the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., read a paper on the Giant's Grave. The fire hose was turned on, and this enabled the members to make out the figure of Lokiband, the sacred hart, and other emblems of Scandinavian mythology. Until Mr. Calverley discerned these figures on the much-weathered stone, their existence was not suspected.

The Society's second meeting was held on September 13th and 14th, in the district round Wigton and Aspatia. On the first day the great Roman camp at Old Carlisle was visited; on the second, Aspatia and Torpenhow Church, and Harbybrow Tower, once the residence of the Highmores.



THE vicar of Aspatia, Mr. Calverley, has just reared in the churchyard a *replica* of the famous GOSFORTH CROSS. A stone 16 feet long was obtained from the quarries at Aspatia, and taken to the vicarage yard, where a mason, under Mr. Calverley's directions, carefully and successfully reproduced the carvings from the Gosforth Cross. The cross was recently successfully raised—no easy job, considering its length and slimness, which rendered it necessary to jacket it in planks and sods, for fear it would snap by its own weight.



THE annual excursion of the YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL and TOPOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION was made this year on July 25th, to Richmond and Easby Abbey. A portion of Mr. St. John Hope's excellent ground plan of the Abbey of St. Agatha-juxta-Richmond was reproduced in the official programme, so that it was a simple matter for the most unpracticed eye in monastic arrangements to ascertain the former use of the different parts. The programme also contained a ground plan of Richmond Castle, so well known for the great size of its noble keep, from the pen of Mr. G. T. Clark, as great an authority on our medieval castles as is Mr. Hope on monastic sites. The twelve paged programme, issued by Mr. G. W. Tomlinson, F.S.A., the Hon. Sec., is a model of what such preliminary announcements should be. It would be well if some other of our county societies did work of this kind as well. The Yorkshire Society is more limited in the number of its excursions than some of its associates, but that which it undertakes is accomplished in a most thorough manner.



AN extra excursion of the same Society was made on September 12th to FOUNTAINS ABBEY, where the indefatigable Mr. St. John Hope is again at work excavating. Mr. Micklethwaite gave a most interesting address on the origin, and growth, and change of the Cistercian rule, and showed what an important bearing it had upon the successive development of their conventual buildings. He illustrated his remarks by reference to an account of a visit to the mother house of Cîteaux in 1517, and from the building diary of Meux Abbey, which was a daughter of Fountains. Mr. St. John Hope afterwards conducted the large party over the church and buildings. Various important changes and modifications in the nomenclature of the ground plan, especially with regard to the kitchen and infirmary, will have to be made when the result of Messrs. Micklethwaite's and Hope's patient labours is given by the Yorkshire Society.



WE know of no local Archæological Society that arranges and carries out its summer excursions on better lines than the BRADFORD HISTORICAL and ANTI-QUARIAN SOCIETY. One feature of their announcements (wherein they follow the example of the Yorkshire Society) might well be generally imitated, viz., the information given to the members beforehand of the books, etc., whence knowledge can be gleaned of the district or places about to be visited. On July 14th, the members visited HORNBY CASTLE. With the exception of the central tower or keep, erected by the renowned Sir Edward Stanley towards the end of the fifteenth century, there is but little of the old fabric remaining; but the manor court rolls of the honour and manor of Hornby are in excellent condition, and have been preserved from 1520 downwards. The church of Hornby, the adjacent earthworks called Camp Field, and the house occupied for forty years by the historian Lingard, were also visited.



THE Bank Holiday excursion of the same Society was this year made to the FAIRFAX country. The fine perpendicular church of Bolton Percy was visited,

under the guidance of Venerable Archdeacon Crosthwaite. The register was shown, with the entry of the marriage of Mary, only surviving child of the great Lord Fairfax, to the infamous Duke of Buckingham. Henry Fairfax, brother of the second lord, was rector of this church. His son Henry became the fourth Lord Fairfax. From Bolton Percy, the party drove to Steeton Hall, where in a loft soldiers slept before the battle of Marston Moor. Thence to Bilbrough Hall, where Mrs. Fairfax gave the members a most hospitable reception. Bilbrough Hall contains all the Fairfax treasures that have been collected from Nun Appleton, Steeton Hall, and Newton Kyme, including the Bible and easy chair used in his old age by the great Lord Fairfax. The site of the critical battle of Marston Moor was then visited, where the largest body of English troops (50,000) that had assembled since the wars of the Roses met together in martial array.



On September 1st, the last excursion of the season was made by the Bradford Society to LEES HALL; to THORNHILL CHURCH, lately restored by Mr. Street, and containing the interesting monuments of the Savile family; and to the MOAT HOUSE, in the rectory grounds at Thornhill, which was besieged by one of Cromwell's generals.



THE CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, on July 20th, received the members of the LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, when an excellently planned programme of inspection of the city was successfully carried out. The walls were visited under the guidance of Mr. Cann-Hughes and Mr. Jones, whilst the cathedral was described by Archdeacon Barber. Great interest was taken in the inspection of numerous tombstones, inscriptions, and other remains of recent discovery, that tell of the period when the famous XXth Legion was quartered at Chester.



THE LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIES have showed their usual diligence in their summer excursions. In August, a small party visited, under the guidance of Mr. G. C. Yates, F.S.A., their Hon. Sec., various old halls and churches in the neighbourhood of Macclesfield. A second and better attended expedition of the same month strayed over their boundaries into Derbyshire to visit that charming "cathedral of the Peak," the church of Tideswell, and the classic soil of plague-stricken Eyam. Mr. Yates read a good paper on the Plague. The church of Eyam, to those who recollect it in older days, is an appalling example of the evils of over-restoration.

In September, the members again visited Derbyshire, giving their chief attention to the site of the Roman camp of MELANDRA, in the Glossop district. But little information with respect to this camp has been gained since 1771, when it was first discovered by Rev. John Watson, and described in the *Archæologia*. Mr. Thomas Barlow, who conducted the party, pointed out a heap of shaped stones taken out of the ground by the local farmers in 1865, amongst them being the keystone of an arch. The excavation of the site of this camp would be an excellent work for this spirited society, in conjunction with their Derbyshire *confrères*, to accomplish.



On August 25th the HAMPSHIRE FIELD CLUB had a pleasant day's excursion to the churches of Ringwood and Ellingham, and to Moyles Court. The old mansion of Moyles Court possesses special interest as the place where Alice Lisle harboured Hicks and Melthorpe after the battle of Sedgemoor, for which she was beheaded. Mr. T. W. Shore read an able paper, which not only supplied a good outline of the history of the manor, but gave particulars of the Court Leet and Court Baron, showing the origin of the term *Moyles Court*.



THE NEWBURY DISTRICT FIELD CLUB, in August, visited Wells Cathedral and Glastonbury Abbey. At Wells, the Bishop acted as guide to the ancient palace, and the Dean to the cathedral. Glastonbury Abbey was described by Rev. J. M.

Guilding, vicar of St. Laurence's, Reading. The courtesy almost invariably shown to archaeologists by those in charge of our great ecclesiastical fabrics, is one of the many pleasant features of these summer excursions, which seem to multiply year by year.



THE set of the very rare AUBREY'S HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF SURREY (5 vols., 8vo., 1719) that originally belonged to Mr. William Bray, and contains copious notes in his handwriting which were used in his compilation of Manning and Bray's History of Surrey (3 vols., folio, 1804), has recently come into the possession of Mr. David Williamson, J.P., of Guildford. The set at one time belonged to John Martyr, Mayor of Guildford, and from him passed to a mutual friend, who presented four volumes of it to Mr. Bray about 1760. Vol. II. at that time had gone astray, and Mr. Bray purchased an odd Vol. II. to make up his set. Six years ago the son of Mr. Williamson purchased, at a book stall in Panyer Alley, Newgate Street, the missing volume of the set, which, after being parted from its fellows for over a hundred years, has, within the past few weeks, been united with them, and the set is now in Mr. Williamson's Library as perfect as when it left Mr. Martyr's possession in 1730.



CANNOT the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, or the Surrey Archaeological Society, take a look at the charming old ruin of ST. CATHARINE'S CHAPEL, near GUILDFORD? It is in a most deplorable condition, and the sacred edifice polluted by all the refuse of the neighbouring cottages, and utterly neglected.



THE SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY held their annual summer outing at OCKLEY, CAPEL, and OAKWOOD this year. The meeting was a small one, on account of the unpropitious state of the weather. An excellent paper on Ockley Church was read by Mr. Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., in which reference was made to the very old custom still kept up in the village of planting red rose trees at the heads of the graves in the churchyard, and to the important find of Anglo-Saxon pottery on the side of the village stockade. A second paper on the battle which took place at Ockley between the Danes and Saxons, was read by Mr. Nevill, and very interesting reference made to the Saxon Council of Aclea (Ockley) in 1085, and to the remains of the ancient Stone Street of the Romans close by. At Oakwood Mr. Milbourn, the Secretary, gave some information about this interesting little chapel, and some most important documents in relation to the service, and tracings of early fresco paintings were exhibited by the vicar. A few remarks on Capel Church concluded a most interesting meeting, marred only by the severe cold of the weather, which interfered with out-door observation.



A VERY interesting and historic mansion, with its grounds and park, known as "HATCHLANDS," near Horsley, Surrey, has been submitted for sale by auction. The estate was originally the property of the Abbots of Chertsey Priory, and was known as Hachesham. In the 46th of Henry III. there existed a right of way through it, belonging to the Priory of Newark, to their chalk pit or marleram. At the dispersion of the Religious Houses in 1544, it was granted to Sir Arthur Bray, from whom it passed by heiress to the Earl of Longford, and thence to Sir Richard Heath, Baron of Exchequer, whose son and grandson respectively occupied the position of Recorder of Guildford. In 1749 the Hon. Edward Boscawen, son of Hugh Viscount Boscawen, bought the property, and on returning from his notable victories of Porto Bello and Pondicherry, he erected the present mansion. His family sold it in 1770 to Mr. G. Holme-Sunner, who was member for Guildford in 1806-7. The house contained some very valuable and interesting furniture and rare porcelain, many pieces of which fetched very high prices.



THE MONMOUTHSHIRE AND CAERLEON ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION held their annual meeting on August 24th, at Portskewett, when the following antiquities of the district were visited :—The remains of the Roman Camp at Sudbrook, on the bank of the Severn, the rapid current of which has washed away a great portion of the earthworks; the ruins of the fourteenth century Chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, just outside the camp; the site of Earl Harold's mansion at Portskewett, of which considerable foundations appear to remain underground, and might repay exploration; the little Parish Church, of which portions are said to be of Harold's time, and are certainly of early Norman if not Saxon age. But the chief object of the meeting was the examination of the "Portskewett Barrow," under the direction of the Rev. Wm. and Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley, of Newland. The result was somewhat disappointing, as it left no doubt that the mound had been previously opened. Two sepulchral chambers, with fifteen stones remaining at the sides and ends, were uncovered, but only a few human and other bones, and a couple of fragments of coarse pottery were found. The tumulus was dug into in several places, and seemed to be of natural origin, the chambered grave or graves on its summit measuring about 26 feet from east to west, having probably been formerly covered with large flat stones, though no trace of these remained. A paper was read by the Rev. Bagnall-Oakeley, on the megalithic remains of the district, illustrated with plans and drawings.



THE KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY held its Annual Congress at HYTHE, on the 1st and 2nd of August. The Bishop of Dover presided at the business meeting, whereat the Annual Report was read by Canon Scott Robertson, and adopted upon the motion of the Dean of Canterbury, seconded by Canon the Hon. W. Fremantle. The remarkable Church of St. Leonard, at Hythe, was the first place visited. It possesses some good remains of late Norman work, but the glorious chancel with its aisles, all vaulted, is a fine example of the Early English style, elevated upon a narrow Eastern Crypt. Within the crypt are stacked, in an orderly manner, the skulls and other bones of several hundreds of human beings, male and female.

From Hythe the members drove to LYMNE CHURCH, where the central tower, of early Norman work, has in each of its sides two Norman windows, which were formerly external, but those in the west wall are now enclosed below the nave roof. The chancel and north aisle were built in the thirteenth century.

Adjacent to the churchyard stands LYMNE CASTLE, a perpendicular building erected in the time of Henry V, and formerly called the house of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, to whom it belonged. The dining hall is now divided into two storeys and several rooms, but its windows are clearly seen on the exterior. The kitchen and offices remain, and at the west end of the hall there is a tower, half circular.

The ruins of the late Roman *castrum*, called STUDDALL CASTLE, were expounded by Mr. Roach Smith, who long ago conducted extensive excavations around the walls. He discovered a Roman altar to Neptune and other big stones, which had previously been used in some building accessible to the sea in the *Portus Lemanis*, and had become encrusted with barnacles. The sea left Lemanis before the *Castrum* was built.

ALDINGTON CHURCH was visited after Lymne. Therein were noticed Saxon remains in a tower-base at the south-west corner, and in a doorway and window in the north walls. The nave, arcade, and the south chancel are early English, but the western tower was built in the time of Henry VIII.

At CHERITON CHURCH, visited on the 2nd of August, other Saxon remains were seen in its west tower. The chancel at Cheriton is a good specimen of early English work, its north and south walls are arcaded with small arches upon a bench table, running the whole length of the chancel.

NEWINGTON CHURCH, which was next visited, has some small Norman remains, but the greatest portion is of the early English style. The brasses and other monuments of the Brockman family are numerous.

The history of LYMINGE CHURCH was expounded by Canon R. C. Jenkins, the rector. He showed the foundations of the Roman basilica, turned into a Saxon

church, on the south side of the existing edifice, which he ascribed to the time of St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose work is visible in the chancel. The later portions are not so interesting.

The last place visited was SALTWOOD. At the Castle, Canon Scott Robertson led the members first into the dried moat, whence they could see one of the two remaining square Norman Towers of the outer wall, and observe that the later towers or bastions projected from the wall, while the Norman towers were level with the walls. The restored gatehouse (of the fourteenth century) was entered, and all the ruins of fourteenth and fifteenth century work were explored.

Saltwood Church, with its beautiful decorated chest, and its two good brasses, was the last building examined by the Society; and a very successful Congress was there concluded with a vote of thanks to Canon Scott Robertson, the Honorary Secretary.



THE DERBYSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY visited BRADBOURNE church last July, when a valuable paper was read by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., who is now residing at Bradbourne Hall, a good example of an early 17th century Derbyshire hall, built by the Buxtons. The paper conclusively proved that most of the basement of the un-buttressed tower is Saxon, a fact hitherto unsuspected, owing to its later Norman treatment. The whole question of the successive architectural history of this interesting church was ably treated. The paper, with ground-plan, will appear in the next issue of the Society's transactions. The expedition was well attended, and the members were hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Hartshorne.

The September excursion of the Society was to Darley Dale church, and to the grounds of Stancliffe.

The Society has begun excellent work in connection with Rains Cave, Longcliffe, which is described elsewhere in the *Reliquary*.



Mr. Keys, of LITTLE CHESTER, Derby, has recently turned up in his garden, a considerable and singularly varied "find" of pieces of Roman and Romano-British pottery. A good deal of it is Samian and common yellow ware, but there are various pieces, with nicely-worked patterns of Salopian and Upchurch pottery, as well as some native imitation of Samian. The most curious of these pot relics, is half of the rim of a pale coloured *mortarium*, bearing a hitherto unnoticed maker's stamp, "Vivius"; the unique feature of it being that the stamp is coloured chocolate. It is expected that the more interesting of these fragments, and some other small Roman "finds" of Mr. Keys, will be illustrated and described in the Derbyshire Archæological Society's Journal.



Mr. F. J. Furnivall has begun to do sad mischief in the charming long gallery of HADDON HALL. Thinking he had made, by the aid of a timber merchant friend, a great discovery as to the woodwork of the wainscoting being oak beneath its stain and colour, Mr. Furnivall obtained some sort of leave to scrape a panel and then to well soak it with linseed oil. Fortunately, Mr. Albert Hartshorne soon noted the mischief that had been begun, and by a timely protest in the *Athenæum*, backed up by various other capable pens, we believe that he has succeeded in checking this most miserable and imaginary restoration.



The Annual Excursion of the ST. ALBANS' ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY was successfully carried out last August, when the members visited Wheathampstead, Kimpton, St. Paul's Walden, King's Walden, and Offley. The most interesting feature of the day's proceedings were at Wheathampstead, where the foundation of the Norman chancel apse of the church has lately been discovered; and a cottage in the parish, at Gustard Wood Lane, with a medieval timber roof, has been identified by the Rev. Canon Davys as a wayside chapel.



THE BUCKS ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY this year selected the district of South Bucks for the Annual Excursion, which was held on Monday, July 9th; the places visited being Great and Little Missenden, Chessam Bois, Latimer, and Chenies. The ABBEY OF GREAT MISSENDEN, now a private residence, contains some few traces of the grandeur of the monastic buildings, including the refectory and chapter house; the beautiful stone work of the latter, under the moistening influence of dairy work there carried on, is slowly but surely being destroyed. Stone coffins, incised stones, and many interesting encaustic tiles, have been from time to time brought to light. Mr. John Parker, F.S.A., read a short paper on the foundation of the Abbey. In a descriptive paper dealing with the parish church, the Rev. C. H. Evelyn White, F.S.A., alluded to the name Missenden, which he was inclined to regard as an evidence of the early church life. It was the *valley of the mass*. "Missen" being the possessive of the word *masse* or mass, or it might mean land specially charged with payment for masses. At the dissolution, Thomas Bernard, one of the canons of the religious house, had the vicarage bestowed upon him in lieu of a pension. From a record of the endowment of the vicarage deposited in the registry at Lincoln, it appears that the parish priest was allowed from the Abbey as much provender as was necessary for his horse, and likewise food for himself, as the hour of the Abbey dinner interfered with the time of the parish prayers. There are several brasses and mural monuments. One of the latter, to the memory of William Bois, of Clare Hall, Cambridge, has the tablet, bearing a Latin inscription, within a rounded arch formed of a large number of books placed one upon another. The inscription concludes with these words—

Post varias tandem peregrinationes e viatore factus comprehensor, 7 Feb.

Ano. { *Ætatis, 70.*
 { *Salutis, 1631.*

P. E. B. D. N.

These initial letters have long proved to antiquaries an insuperable difficulty. Mr. White ventured with considerable diffidence to suggest *Pro expectantes beati Domini nostri* as a probable reading, and dwelt upon the unedifying character of such inscriptions. In the chancel of this church is interred the noted Mrs. Cellier, known for the prominent part she played in connection with the pretended "meal-tub plot" in the year 1679.

Much interest was shown in a row of four pointed arches on the north side of the chancel, about seven feet from the ground, having small pillars detached from the walls, and conjectures made as to the object they were intended to serve.



The Annual Summer Excursion of the SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHÆOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY included Hoxne Church and Priory, Wingfield Church and Castle, Fressingfield Church, &c. Hoxne is conspicuous as one of the first settlements of the British Church, where also in pre-Reformation days, the Bishop of Norwich had a residence. Hoxne was long associated with the well known family of the De la Poles. Here, also, Edmund the king and martyr suffered at the hands of the ruthless Danes, and there, some four hundred yards beyond the site of the bridge, beneath which St. Edmund hid himself from his pursuers, is a stone cross, erected on the spot where formerly stood the oak against which the king was bound. An ancient arrow head was found embedded in the old tree, which fell some forty years since. The church has, of course, numerous indications of St. Edmund's connection with the parish, notably in the carved bench ends. Beneath the Communion table is the original altar stone, forming part of the floor. The octagonal font is remarkable for the armorial bearings of the De la Poles, Wingfields, and others. The Rev. C. R. Manning, F.S.A., gave a short description of Wingfield Castle, and the Rev. Dr. Raven read an interesting paper on the De la Poles. The Collegiate Church at Wingfield is an interesting early English structure. The carved work of the chancel roof is specially worth attention, as are also the *Miserere* stalls. The rood-loft stairs are well-nigh perfect, and the hagioscopes on the north side, looking directly towards the east

end remain. There are similar openings in the walls of the Priests' Chamber, that served the purpose of watching the altar. It is said that one of the non-juring clergy had, at his own request, been brought to die in the then rood-loft, in sight of the altar. Luncheon was served at Fressingfield, the birth and also the burial place of Archbishop Sancroft. The carved work of the church is very fine, the bench ends, each ornamented in a different manner, giving representations of various legendary stories, among which is St. Bernard and his dog. The Vicar, Dr. Raven, read a paper on the Sancroft family. Hoxne Priory was visited on the return journey.



THE SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY, under the guidance of their venerable President, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, had a most successful meeting at Wells during the last week of August. Notwithstanding the absence from the meeting of Mr. E. A. Freeman, whose rather severe illness prevented his taking an active part in the proceedings, much light was thrown on the history of Wells Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace, etc., and some valuable papers were read at the evening meetings. Canon Church read a paper on "The Documentary Evidence relating to the Early Architecture of the Cathedral," in which he repeated the arguments brought forward in his papers read before the Society of Antiquaries in London, in favour of the theory that much of the existing building was the work of Reginald Fitz-Jocelin, Bishop from 1174 to 1191, rather than of Jocelin Trotman, Bishop from 1206 to 1242, to whom it has generally been attributed. Mr. Freeman contributed some notes, in which he remarked that the history of the building of Wells Cathedral would have to be re-written. The Bishop's Palace was examined under the guidance of Mr. E. Buckle, who expressed an opinion that some of the supposed Early English work of that interesting building was really of the time of Queen Elizabeth, the mouldings and details of the thirteenth century work having been fairly well copied by the sixteenth century builders. Among the places visited were the Deanery, the churches of Rodney-Stoke, Cheddar, Wookey, Pilton, and Croscombe, which were described by the Dean of Wells (Dr. Plumtre), Bishop Hobhouse, the Rev. J. Coleman, T. S. Holmes, and others. Numerous objects of interest were exhibited in the temporary local museum, including the Roman hoard of coins from Harptree, Somerset, described in our last number (p. 182), some ancient manuscripts, books, plate, rings, etc., and some remains of old altar-frontals and embroidery, from the churches at Priddy and Pilton.

Reviews and Notices of New Books.

[Publishers are requested to be so good as always to mark clearly the prices of books sent for review, as these notices are intended to be a practical aid to book-buying readers.]

A PAROCHIAL HISTORY OF ST. MARY BOURNE: By Joseph Stevens. *Whiting & Co.* Imp. 8vo., pp. vi., 374; fifteen plates and plan. Price 15s.—This is a well-bound, admirably printed, clearly illustrated, and generally attractive volume, that reflects much credit on the publishers. Nor do the contents of the pages in any way detract from the pleasant impression formed by the mere handling of the volume. Throughout its pages Dr. Stevens, the honorary curator of the Reading museum, and for nearly half a century a resident at St. Mary Bourne, chats, in a bright and yet sufficiently learned fashion, about this retired village of North Hampshire, and the manor of Hurstbourne Priors. In dealing with this parish, he finds apt illustrations of the divers races of men that have passed over the face of these North Hampshire villages, from the skin-clad savage chipping out his stone implements, down to the Board School building inhabitants of the present

day. St. Mary Bourne is remarkably rich in the diversified character of its "finds" and more permanent antiquities for so small an area. The maker of the "old stone" tools, the earliest man of whom we have any knowledge from his handiwork, toiled here, leaving some roughly chipped flints, and the tooth of the mammoth his contemporary, as traces of his residence. The later "polished stone" man has left in the parish some of his arrow heads and other shaped stone instruments. Hut-circles that tell of the pit dwellings of the Romano-British period, a camp (Eggbury), and many interesting relics of Roman occupancy and of subsequent Saxon semi-savagery, are also all to be found within the same district. All these details are happily illustrated and pleasantly described by Dr. Stevens, and we doubt if this part of the book could have been done better. With regard to the pit dwellings, upon which subject the author has evidently wide knowledge, we are sure that he will be glad to be referred to the masterly work by Lt. Gen. Pitt Rivers on "Excavations in Cranbourne Chase," printed last year, and reviewed in the *Reliquary* for October, 1887. The church, and, to some extent, the manorial, history, might be widened considerably in their scope, as Dr. Stevens admits in the introduction, but what is given seems accurate and clear. When dealing with the church, those matters that many bookmakers and some careful writers and antiquaries might pass by as insignificant and of late date, are here all chronicled; for instance, an account is given (with a good plate) of the early eighteenth century table (now, alas, in the Reading museum), to which were chained the old Bible and Fox's Martyrs. The font, which is of solid square Norman design, is nobly carved, and is probably the work of the same artificer who produced the better known fonts of East Meon and Winchester cathedrals; it is beautifully drawn by Dr. Stevens, and well described. With regard to the public records dealing with the district, we do not quite understand upon what principle certain interesting documents, such as the Subsidy Rolls, are cited *in extenso*, and others of equal importance and interest left altogether unnoticed. But really, in reading this volume, the varied and remarkable amount of information gathered together strikes a critic, well used to parochial histories both small and great, as far more noteworthy than the omissions. A Brank's or Scold's Bridle, found in this parish in 1864, and now at the Reading museum, is drawn and described with care. It differs, so far as we know, from all others hitherto depicted, and is not like any one of the score of examples engraved in the first volume of the *Reliquary* (October, 1860). The tongue-plate, or gag, is made to slide into the mouth instead of being fixed. "This brank has, further, a kind of stirrup attached to the tongue-plate for the reception of a strap or rein, by which the wretched gagged creature was led about. The base of the stirrup is composed of two bars, one fixing the stirrup to the tongue-plate, whilst the other is made to act as lever to the gag, and thus furnished the conductor with considerable liberty in inflicting punishment to the mouth." Many of these cruel appliances for the correction of scolds still exist in connection with municipal towns, but is not this the first instance of a village brank being recorded? The chapter on "Parochial Customs" is a charming one; we long for space to quote from it. However, we trust that we have said enough to show that this is a book of singular merit, an acceptable addition to any library, and surely essential to any cultured reader resident in North Hampshire.



YORKSHIRE LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS: By Rev. Thomas Parkinson. *Elliot Stock*. Demy 8vo., xii., 244. Price 7s. 6d.—Mr. Parkinson is to be congratulated upon having gathered together a pleasant and readable collection of legends and traditions pertaining to the county of the "broad acres." At the same time, the antiquary and lover of Yorkshire lore cannot fail to be disappointed at the absence of almost all references or information as to the sources from which the stories are gleaned. It would, too, have made the book far more valuable if Mr. Parkinson had given the differing versions of certain of the legends here cited, instead of treating many of his subjects with such scant brevity. Moreover, as our author tells us, which we are glad to hear, that he has another wain-load of the same kind already collected, which will probably be ere long sent forth, the thought naturally occurs to the student of legends that the arrangement might have been

materially improved. For instance, a county of the size and prolific interest of Yorkshire would readily furnish to a painstaking collector a volume of *Well Legends* as large as this, whilst those that centre round monasteries would supply at least two additional books.

However, we cordially thank Mr. Parkinson for bringing these tales together, and trust that they are but a foretaste of better work from the same hand. He has wisely laid poetry heavily under contribution, giving, for instance, Wordsworth's version of the White Doe of Rhylstone and Hart Leap Well, and quoting with happy effect from Mrs. Susan K. Phillips, who has not only caught the true ballad swing, but with it a touch of real poetic description:—

“Deep in the heart of Wensleydale fair Seamer Water lies,
Where the lark springs up to carol in the pale blue northern skies;
Where the trout and stream are leaping, where the silvery willows quiver,
Where long-haired birches wave their locks when June's soft breezes shiver.”

Many of the Yorkshire legends are by no means peculiar to the county, as for instance the common class of those that assign the building of a church away from the village to diabolical agency. But others give a special local touch of much interest to some wide-spread myth. The two dark marks on the shoulders of the haddock are often attributed to Satan by the legendary lore of various lands, whilst others assign the same marks to the touch of St. Peter's fingers, when at Divine command he raised the tribute-yielding fish from the waters of the lake. According, however, to a Filey tradition, the Devil was the builder of the dangerous ridge known as the Brigg; in the midst of his labour he dropped his hammer into the sea; diving in haste to effect its recovery, by mistake he seized a haddock instead of the hammer, and the whole species have ever since borne the trace of this infernal handling.



RYEDALE AND NORTH YORKSHIRE ANTIQUITIES: By George Frank. *Sampson Brothers, York.* Fcap. 8vo., pp. xvi., 236. Fourteen wood engravings. Price 7s. 6d.—Mr. Frank wrote a modest and useful little “Guide to Ryedale” sixteen years ago, when this district of Yorkshire first became possessed of adequate railway accommodation. The Guide passed through three large editions, and its author has now ventured upon an extended work of wider scope. The inclusion of the term “North Yorkshire” in the title is, we think, a mistake, for it enables the writer to roam so far afield after a desultory fashion. For instance, the brief and altogether sketchy opening chapter on York might well have been omitted: it is of no special value to the antiquary, and any of the shilling guides to the city would be far more helpful to the intelligent tourist. This space, as well as that of several other chapters, such as those on Scarborough and Whitby, had far better have been devoted to a more thorough examination of the antiquities of Ryedale, which have never yet been satisfactorily treated, and which are sufficient to fill several volumes. We note with surprise various singular omissions in a book dealing with the antiquities of Ryedale, especially in connection with its churches. It would be difficult, for instance, to find two small adjacent village churches more abounding in exceptional interest than those of Appleton-le-Street and Barton-le-Street; the former has an undoubted Saxon tower, remains of an early English apse, and some good effigies; whilst the latter has been described by the leading authority on stone carving of the early days as “a perfect museum of Norman sculpture.” But of these two churches we find not a word from the pen of Mr. Frank; whilst of others that are described there are singular omissions; no mention, for instance, being made of the remarkable 17th century screen at Stonegrave.

Having, however, thus growled over sins of omission, and having given utterance to an energetic snarl over the provoking and inexcusable sin of leaving out an index, nothing but praise remains, for we notice no sins of commission. The pages are pleasantly written, and are accurate summaries of many of the most interesting features of this charming district, which is so exceptionally rich in varied landscape and in archaeological remains. There are good, though too brief,

descriptions of districts such as Malton, Helmsley, Lastingham, Pickering, and Kirbymoorside, which abound in the castles and monasteries of medieval days, and in the ancient roads, earthworks, and tumuli of Roman or prehistoric times. We can with confidence recommend this volume both to the resident and visitor. The lover of picturesque scenery or the earnest antiquary, who often roam so far from England's shores in the search after the beautiful or antique, are not infrequently ignorant of many of the attractions of their own land. Should anyone take our advice and make a summer sojourn (if 1889 gives us a summer) at Helmsley, in itself a charming little market town, and the best centre for the district, he would indeed be hard to please if he was disappointed, and he would too, be altogether over fastidious, if he did not find Mr. Frank's book a most pleasant companion.



THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA; a Tercentenary Ballad : By Robert Anslow. *Elliot Stock*. Fcap 8vo., pp. vi., 40. Price 2s.—There could scarcely be a nobler theme for a good ringing and truly patriotic ballad than the defeat of the Armada; but surely any patriot, or any true lover, we will not say of poetry, but of swinging rhythm, who may chance to open these pages, will only be anxious to close them again with all possible speed. The great glory of the defeat of the Spanish host was the manner in which those of differing faiths and opposing political convictions united against a common enemy; but Mr. Anslow thinks it a subject to be used as a peg upon which to hang modern party vituperation of a commonplace and ignorant character. There is not a page of this fortunately brief book that is not disfigured by some historical blunder or lapse of grammar, so that any detailed criticism would be needless cruelty. It would be hard, we grant, for even a practised rhymster of poetic instincts to turn out an acceptable Armada ballad, when the grand fragment of Macaulay could not fail to be put in comparison with it; but words are wanting when we are expected to read with patience wretched halting doggerel, of which these lines are a very fair specimen:—

“ Austral and northern continents, and Afric's golden sands,
Are, too, as jewels in the crown, as arrows in the hands
Of our illustrious Monarch, beneath whose gracious sway,
Some three hundred and ten millions of subjects live to-day ! ”

Nor is the nonsense sufficiently amusing to raise more than a sickly smile, when we read that:—

“ In Spain, as once in Ramah, a cry of woe arose,
And most of Spain's nobility were seen in sable clothes.”



WESTMORELAND CHURCH NOTES, Vol. I.: By Edward Bellasis, Lancaster Herald, etc. *T. Wilson, Kendal*. Royal 8vo., pp. x., 281. Price (to subscribers) £1 for the two vols.—These are not “Church Notes” in the more usual acceptance of the term, for we look in vain for any account of the architecture or history of the fabric, of the registers, bells, or plate; but the notes consist of painstaking copies of the whole of the epitaphs and other inscriptions of the ancient parish churches and churchyards of Westmoreland, together with the heraldry. Mr. Bellasis' undertaking is a modest one, and entered upon in a modest spirit; but it is one of real value, and has been carried out with conspicuous accuracy, and after an excellent plan. The compiler tells us that even since he began noting, in 1874, monuments have vanished. “Others, too, have come upon the ground; others, again, rest hidden behind organs, or beneath the floor tiling, which is wont to accompany restoration, as in the instance of the Barton epitaph to Richard Wordsworth, the poet's grandfather.” The epitaphs are, of course, chiefly of value to those who are connected with the county; but these pages can be studied by others with advantage and interest. The sweet churchyard of Grasmere, for instance, not only contains a great poet's remains, but several of its epitaphs are marked by true poetic diction and chaste

feeling. For concise pithiness, the epitaph to Jonathan Rudd (1829) in the churchyard of St. Michael, Appleby, is, so far as our experience goes, unrivalled:—

“ While living respected,
Now dead lamented.”

This volume contains the inscriptions from the two churches of Appleby, and from those of Asby, Askham, Bampton, Barton, Beetham, Brough, Brougham, Burton-in-Kendal, Cliburn, Clifton, Crosby-Garrett, Crosby-Ravensworth, Dufton, Grasmere, and Heversham. The frontispiece is a quaint and interesting facsimile of a sketch, taken in 1789, of St. Lawrence's, Appleby. The preface is a pleasant, honest piece of reading: “ These notes,” says Mr. Bellasis, “ are a humble contribution, nothing beyond that, to the far greater undertaking of a worthy history of Westmoreland, which, up to now, no Machell, Nicholson, Burn, or Hill has had the courage fully to attempt. These builders have laboriously collected their bricks, or erected wings for that edifice, the main block of which has yet, in the distant future, to arise from the ground.” What an excellent thing it would be if every English county could find a brick collector like Mr. Bellasis!



CALENDAR OF THE FREEMEN OF NORWICH, from 1317 to 1603: By John L'Estrange, and edited by Walter Rye. *Elliot Stock*. Demy 8vo., pp. x., 156.— This is another proof of the marvellous activity of Mr. Walter Rye, the well-known antiquary and record-student of Norfolk. It is an index to a list of upwards of 6,000 Freemen of Norwich, from the time of Edward II. to that of Elizabeth inclusive, compiled from the muniments of the Corporation of that city. The names are arranged alphabetically, the style of the trade in a second column, and the date of admission in a third column. The various trades and professions afford a curious word study, and some insight into obsolete or unusual occupations. Of obsolete words, *Pelterer*, a seller of pelts or skins; *Rafman*, a chandler; and *Pinner*, a pinmaker, may be mentioned. *Strynger*, a bowstring maker, *Slingmaker*, and *Lomynor*, a limner or illuminator of manuscripts, are examples of obsolete trades; whilst the occupations of the *Parchminer* or preparer of parchment, the *Bedemaker* or maker of rosaries, and the *Fourhour Furbeshor* or sword cutler are materially lessened. The brief conjectural explanations of some of the terms might, we think, be materially improved. Thus *Lekman* is more likely to be a locksmith than a seller of leeks; *Hayerman*, a weaver of coarse garments of goat's hair, rather than a furrier; *Whytler*, a shoemaker (welt), in preference to a quilter; and *Saucer* can scarcely be a seller of salt, and may, with more probability, mean a sauce or condiment maker, the department of the royal household in the sixteenth century that dealt with such matters being termed the saucery. The tedious labours of the late Mr. L'Estrange and of Mr. Rye in producing this volume, ought to be appreciated by many besides those immediately interested in the city of Norwich. Antiquaries rarely indulge in puns, but after the brain-wearying labour of indexing and arranging these thousands of names, we suppose we must forgive the rather poor joke of asserting that “ Ralph Solfaa (11 Henry IV.) must surely have been a singer.”



ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE, 1885, pt. ii. *Washington, Government Printing Office*. 8vo., pp. 1,200.—This thick volume is another monument to the splendid industry of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institute. Two hundred and sixty pages are devoted to the report of the assistant director upon the condition and progress of the museum; to the reports of the curators and acting curators of the several departments; to the bibliography of this National Museum for the half-year ending June 30th, 1885; and to an annotated list of accessions to the collections.

The remainder of the volume is occupied by a detailed account of the George Catlin Indian Gallery, with memoir and statistics, by Mr. Thomas Donaldson. Catlin began the work of creating a gallery of paintings of North American Indians

in 1829, which he completed in 1838. The gallery and collection of objects attached to it, known as "Catlin's Indian Museum," was fully described in his work (with plates) termed "North American Indians," in 2 vols., which was published in London, and passed through eleven editions between 1842 and 1848. Mr. Catlin brought his collection to England in 1839, and exhibited it for three years at the Egyptian Hall. He afterwards removed it to Paris. In 1848 he was turned out of Paris by the Revolution, and re-established himself in London, at Waterloo Place. Unfortunate financial speculations, in 1852, caused the collection to be seized for debt, when Mr. Joseph Harrison, of Philadelphia, made liberal advances to meet Mr. Catlin's liabilities, and as security took charge of the collection. It was shipped to Philadelphia, and remained in storage there until 1879, when it was presented to the nation, and is now fully exhibited at the National Museum at Washington. The value of the paintings and costumes cannot be exaggerated, especially as several of the tribes whose characteristics they portray are already extinct. In order to form the collection, Mr. Catlin during eight years was exclusively occupied in visiting forty-eight Indian tribes, residing within the United States, and in British and Mexican territories. The collection, as originally formed, contained (in addition to the costumes, implements, etc.) nearly 600 paintings, no less than 350 of which were portraits of distinguished men and women of the different tribes, and the remainder descriptive of their villages, games, and customs.

Mr. Donaldson has not been content with annotating Mr. Catlin's wonderful collection, and giving no less than 144 plates of reproductions of the most interesting of the paintings, but he has also brought together, from every available trustworthy source, much information up to date of the Indians of the northern continent of America. Contrary to the usual European opinion, there has been no very rapid decrease in native population during the present century. Many tribes have much dwindled in numbers, and others have become extinct, but contrariwise the tribes that have been longest in contact with civilization have in many cases materially increased. Nevertheless, ever since any approximation of really accurate numbers could be gained, a slow decrease in the total has been perceptible, showing that the Indian, though gradually, is steadily decreasing. According to the official reports of the last eighteen years, the average decrease of the Indians, within the area of the United States, is about 2,000 a year. In 1886, they numbered (exclusive of Alaska) 247,761. The Indians of the Mexican Republic number about 3½ millions, whilst those of Canada, in 1886, were 129,325.



THE BOOK OF NOODLES : By W. A. Clouston. *Elliot Stock*. Price 4s. 6d.—Under this singular title, Mr. Clouston has gathered together a variety of folk-tales that deal with the stories of simpletons, or fools and their follies. This class of stories has had a long life, and has, too, been wide-spread, because of the general appreciation of humour which is one of the special characteristics of the human race. Mr. Clouston has eminently shown his capacity for dealing with such a subject in his comprehensive work entitled "Popular Tales and Fictions," and in this little volume he has compiled a book at once humorous, scholarly, and instructive. The author takes some of the most prominent "noodle" stories, from literature and from oral traditions, and traces them through the successive transformations that they have undergone among various races and in differing climes. The work is divided into seven chapters, the first of which is devoted to "Ancient Grecian Noodles," some of them familiar to the boy readers of the *Delectus*. Then follow three chapters of "Gothamite Drolleries," that is, instances of fooleries of a like character to those perpetrated by the mad men of Gotham. In the fifth chapter are found a number of tales of the "Silly Son" type, who always did or said the right thing at the wrong time. The sixth chapter is, perhaps, the most amusing : it is the most original to English readers ; in it is recounted the droll tale of "The Four Simple Brahmans," who disputed with one another for the palm of superior stupidity. The seventh chapter narrates various versions of the diverting story of the man who vowed he would never return home till he had found three fools equal to his wife. This volume forms one of the *Book Lover's Library*, so it is almost unnecessary to say how charming are the cover and its general adjuncts.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH AND PARISH OF ST. GILES, CRIPPLEGATE: By John James Baddeley. *J. J. Baddeley, Chapel Works, Moor Lane, E.C.* Royal 8vo., pp. iv., 220. Price 10s. 6d.—This is an excellent book; we have all the more pleasure in praising it, because it is sold for the benefit of the Metropolitan Dispensary and the Cripplegate Pension Society; but, altogether irrespective of charity, we can cordially recommend it. It is well and clearly printed, and illustrated with thirty-five original engravings, together with three fac-simile plates of the old records of the parish. Mr. Baddeley, churchwarden 1887-8, is to be congratulated both as author and as publisher. The church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, is of no ordinary importance, for it is the burial place of six distinguished worthies, as well as of many other public men of less note. The special worthies of this parish are—John Milton, the poet; John Speed, the historian; John Fox, the martyrologist; Martin Frobisher, the navigator; Robert Glover, the herald; and Richard Smyth, the antiquary. Mr. Baddeley's attention is chiefly confined to an account of the church and its officials, and of all that pertains to the church and parish that is illustrated by the parochial records; the ground so well covered by the late Mr. Denton's work on Cripplegate not being re-traversed. The details with regard to the Great Plague and the Great Fire are of value and interest. The list and account of vicars might surely have been materially improved and extended by consulting the Episcopal Registers of the See of London, which begin in 1306.



THREE ANCIENT CROSS SHAFTS, THE FONT, AND ST. BERTRAM'S SHRINE AT ILAM: By Rev. Professor Browne, B.D., F.S.A. *George Bell & Sons.* 8vo., pp. 32; twelve reproductions of photographs, and eleven lithographs. Price 2s. 6d.—In this able and exceedingly interesting pamphlet, Professor Browne discourses with his wonted ability and care upon the early sculptured stones of Ilam. The ancient cross shafts are almost unique in their system of ornamentation, and possess features that are only found elsewhere in England at Checkley, some eight miles across country in the direction of Stafford. St. Bertram, of Ilam, is identified by the Professor with St. Bertellin, who was a companion of St. Guthlac when he left Repton to found Croyland at the end of the seventh century. With great ingenuity, and at the same time with much probability, the connection of St. Bertellin with the Checkley and Ilam crosses is here carefully worked out. The pamphlet is one of much value, its brevity is its only fault; the illustrations are worthy of the letterpress, and all archaeologists owe a debt of gratitude to Rev. Gray Granville, the vicar of Ilam, for being at the expense of having the account printed and the costly illustrations produced. No ordinary visitor, unversed in early sculptured stones, could possibly follow the interesting story that these Ilam carvings tell, save with the aid of such a book as this; and as the natural beauties of Ilam and Dovedale attract so large a number of intelligent visitors every year, we feel confident that Mr. Granville's enterprise and Professor Browne's learning will not be thrown away, but that there will soon be a large demand for one of the most exceptionally interesting pamphlets on early ecclesiology that we have ever read. It is rather a hackneyed phrase to use, but we mean it in all sober earnestness, that no one of intelligence could possibly spend half-a-crown on this pamphlet and fail to be well satisfied with the expenditure.



ANCESTRAL TABLETS: By William H. Whitmore, A. M. *Elliot Stock.* Large 4to, half Roxburgh. Price Two Dollars. This is the seventh edition of the valuable collection of diagrams for pedigrees arranged by Mr. Whitmore of Boston, and originally published in 1885. Now that it is published in England, it will doubtless be as much appreciated on this as on the other side of the Atlantic by all genealogists. The book is so arranged that eight generations of the ancestors of any person may be recorded in a most simple and easily consulted form. The book begins in the middle, and the pagination extends on each half back to the covers for the due entry of the paternal and maternal ancestry. The principle of the book

is that holes are cut through the pages in certain places to form the connecting links. It is a difficult plan to explain on paper, but is fascinatingly simple when actually tested. As an American critic of the first edition truly remarks—"No one with the least bent for genealogical research ever examined this ingeniously compact substitute for the family tree without longing to own it."



RECORDS AND RECORD SEARCHING: A Guide to the Genealogist and Topographer. By Walter Rye. *Elliot Stock*. Demy 8vo., pp. iv., 204. Price 6s.—Mr. Walter Rye has long been well known to the majority of antiquaries, especially of the eastern counties, as a laborious and energetic searcher of records, and as the author of various works bearing the fruit of his industry. The *Reliquary* has never been backward in praising his zeal, and in admiring much of his writing. It is, therefore, as unexpected as it is unpleasant, to give an unfavourable verdict with regard to a book that might have been very useful, and which we fully expected to be able to praise. "Records and Record Searching" is of a singularly bad and slipshod style, lacks any clear order or arrangement, abounds in mistakes, omissions, and inaccuracies, and is unfair to workers in the same field.

The style is unworthy of a serious book, and breathes far too much of the personality and of the likes and dislikes of the author. Who, for instance, referring to the index, cares to come across such an entry as this—"Bank of England, pig-headed obstinacy of officials of, 81"?

For careless and slovenly arrangement, we should think the book is unequalled among those issued by modern antiquaries; parts of it can scarcely have been read in print by the writer. On page 3, in a note, is printed—"If your ancestors held a good position, it may be worth while to search the births, deaths, and marriages in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Annual Register*." So charmed is Mr. Rye with this not very original or deep suggestion, that he repeats it in the large type of p. 4, slightly varying the phraseology—"If the family about which you are searching were of any importance, the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Annual Register* may be searched for obituary notices, marriages, births, etc." This is characteristic of the book right through.

"A Short Antiquarian Directory" (Appendix VII.), might, if well and consistently done, have been very useful, but it swarms with blunders and omissions. Any intelligent man who gave half a day to the British Museum Library and half a day to the library of the Society of Antiquaries, could readily compile a much better list. Nor is Mr. Rye in any way correct in saying that "this is the first time anything of this sort has been attempted." He is equally in error when he sighs for a list of country second-hand booksellers. A very little inquiry would have told him that such a directory exists.

Mr. Rye affects a supercilious superiority, happily very rare among co-workers in archæology, to the recent labours of others in a like direction. Unless Mr. Rye had gone out of his way to positively assert that he had read nothing of *How to write the History of a Parish* (Cox), and of *How to write the History of a Family* (Phillimore), it would be impossible but to believe that he had plagiarised titles of chapters and many ideas from these two small works. But how Mr. Rye can have been so clever as to "purposely abstain from looking" at the latter of these two treatises, and yet to work in references to it in his index (see p. 1, and the index), it is impossible for any reasoning being to understand. Moreover, if he has not read the book by Mr. Phillimore, how can he conscientiously give references to it? If, on the other hand, the statements as to not reading these new books on the same subjects as those upon which he writes, are strictly and literally accurate, Mr. Rye has been guilty of contemptuous rudeness as a gentleman, and of bad policy as a writer, for he had no business to publish until he had satisfied himself whether his proposed work had been already accomplished, or whether he could not improve upon or correct the statements of others.

Parts of the book are of originality and value, and will prove of service to students, as, for instance, the full account of "Fines," and the plans of the search rooms of the Public Record Office; but the two small books of Dr. Cox and Mr. Phillimore will, together, be far better and more practical guides to the genealogist and topographer than the more pretentious and inaccurate volume of Mr. Rye.

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